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XXV INTERNATIONALER ORIENTALISTEN-KONGRESS

VORTRÄGE DER DELEGATION DER UDSSR

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**ZUR GESCHICHTE
DER HURRITISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT
(Auf Grund von Rechtsurkunden aus Arrapha)**

**VERLAG FÜR ORIENTALISCHE LITERATUR
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Dieser Beitrag behandelt, auf Grund von Rechtsurkunden aus Arrapha, zwei soziale Begriffe (bzw. Termini): ewru und dimtu.

Beide Begriffe betreffen unmittelbar die Struktur der sozialökonomischen Organisation in den Kleinstaaten Vorderasiens um das zweite vorchristliche Millennium, und speziell die sogenannte 'Hausgemeinschaft'. Den Begriff ewru habe ich neuerdings im Vestnik Drevnej Istorii Jg. 1959, H. 1, S. 35-51 eingehend erörtert. Daher ist es wohl angebracht hier auf diesen Begriff nicht näher einzugehen. Betreffe dimtu habe ich inzwischen neue Belege heranziehen können, die dimtu mit den Begriffen ewru und ahhutu 'Bruderschaft' in Verbindung setzen.

Zuerst hat es P. KOSCHAKER NKRA p. 3, Anm. 5 versucht den Begriff ewru zu deuten. Daraufhin hat E. A. SPEISER (JAOS vol. 55, No 4, p. 432) diese Deutung weiter ausgebaut. Bekanntlich haben die Ausgrabungen in Alalah neues Material aus dem 18. Jh v. Chr. ans Tageslicht befördert. Dieses Material hat noch keiner für die Klärung des Begriffes ewru heranziehen können, vermutlich deshalb, weil diesem Terminus in den Veröffentlichungen irrtümlicherweise eine akkadische Etymologie beigelegt worden ist. D. J. WISEMAN (AT (London 1953); JCS VIII No 1, XII no 4) bietet für den Terminus ewru stets

die Schreibung e=bi=ri (mit der Ausnahme freilich in der Urkunde AT 77, wo auch die Form e=bu=ru belegt ist. Dieses e=bu=ru wird von WISEMAN als akkad. eburu 'harvest', also 'Ernte' verstanden, obwohl gelegentlich die Formen e=bi=ri und e=bu=ru in einem Schriftstück vorkommen).

Nun, e=bi=ri der Alalah-Tafeln (6,55,56,58,76,455, 456) bezeichnet wohl sicherlich den bebauten Boden der Siedlungen. WISEMAN AT, p.160 übersetzt e=bi=ri 'territory, property', dabei fühlt er sich veranlaßt das akk. epiru nicht in der geläufigen Grundbedeutung 'Staub', sondern im Sinne 'Boden' auszulegen.

SPEISER (JAOS Vol.74 No 1, p.19) findet in seiner Rezension die von WISEMAN vorgeschlagene Etymologie wenig überzeugend. Er schlägt seinerseits vor, e=bi=ri auf das akkad. epru (sum. ŠE.BA 'Kornration') zurückzuführen. Epru ist meistens in geschäftlichen Texten, seltener in juristischen Urkunden belegt und ist als 'Unterhalt, Verpflegung' zu verstehen.

Wenn nun SPEISER das Wort e=bi=ri auf das akk. epru zurückführt, so stützt er sich dabei durchaus nicht auf die üblichen Texte, sondern vielmehr auf eine ganz spezielle Prägung des Begriffes epru in mathematischen Quellen, wo epru im Zusammenhang mit einer Volumenbezeichnung, etwa bei še'u 'Getreide'

auftaucht. Beachtenswert ist jedoch, daß weder epru noch epiru nirgends 'Fläche' oder 'Territorium' bedeuten.

Allen diesen Schwierigkeiten gehen wir aus dem Wege, wenn wir das alalahische e=bi=ri aus dem hurritischen Stamm ewr= ableiten. Das die Schreibung e=bi=ri für ewri gewöhnlich ist hat bereits SPEISER, Introduction into Hurrian (1941) § 21, festgestellt. Dieser Terminus hat aber mit dem akkad. epru 'Unterhalt, Verpflegung' entschieden nichts zu tun, was einwandfrei aus einer Urkunde von Arrapha (Gadd, 51) hervorgeht. In dieser Urkunde ist die Rede von einem gewissen Našwa, dem Sohn des Aršenni, der den Wullu, den Sohn des Puhišenni adoptiert. Dort heißt es wörtlich:

adi Našwa balṭu ā Wullu epra ā lubušta inandin
enūma Našwa mītu ā Wullu ewirumma ēppuṣ "Solange Našwa lebt, erstattet (ihm) Wullu Verpflegung und Kleidung; wenn Našwa tot (sein wird), dann vollstreckt Wullu das 'ewri'- Recht".

Das Wortvorkommen e=bi=ri in den Alalah-Tafeln bestätigt die von SPEISER geäußerte, jedoch nicht ausgebaute Hypothese, wonach in den Texten zwei Bildungen aus einem Stamm ewr= zum Vorschein kämen.

Allem Anschein nach dürfte der Unterschied in dem Auslaut liegen. Sich auf die von SPEISER zur hurri-

tischen Grammatik zusammengetragenen Unterlagen stützend, äußerte DIAKONOFF in einer mündlichen Auseinandersetzung die Meinung, wonach beide Schreibarten des Auslautes als Partizipbildungen anzusehen seien. Die i-Form geht aus der transitiven, die u-Form aus der intransitiven Form des Zeitwortes hervor. Also demgemäß dürfte wohl die eine Form das Subjekt einer gewissen Rechtshandlung (wie etwa in der erwähnten Adoption im Text aus Arrapha) betreffen, die andere Form dagegen paßt gut auf das Objekt einer ähnlichen Rechtshandlung (wie etwa in den Texten aus Alalah).

Der Unterschied beider Bildungen aus dem Stamm ewr= wird durch die akkadische Flexion entsteht: ewru steht gewöhnlich im Gen. auf =i, oder auch im Plural auf =i, oder die Endung wird von anderen Formanten verdrängt¹⁾.

Die Urkunden aus Alalah bezeichnen zweifellos als e-bi-ri den Boden, der sich in kollektiver Nutzung der Siedlung befindet. Die Verpflichtungen, die mit dem 'e-bi-ri'-Grundbesitz verbunden sind, können, im Fall des Verkaufs dieses Grundstückes, an eine andere Siedlung übertragen werden (cf. AT 55). Folglich müßte eine gewisse Organisation existiert haben, die mehrere Siedlungen vereinigte. Innerhalb dieser Gemeinschaft dürfte es möglich gewesen sein, die Verpflichtungen nötigenfalls neu zu verteilen. Aus dem Testament Alalah-Tafeln 6 geht hervor, daß e-bi-ri verschiedener

Siedlungen in der Disposition eines einzigen bītu 'Hauses' standen. Das heißt doch wohl: zur Verfügung einer Hausgemeinschaft, deren Bodeneigentum an denjenigen vererbt wird, der das bēlu-Recht erhält. Der Begriff bēlu entspricht dem hurritischen ewri. Dieses Wort eben in diesem Sinne ist noch im Urartäischen belegt, wie auch in den akkadischen Urkunden der Hurriten zu Arrapha.²⁾

Über das Wesen dieser Hausgemeinschaft, sowie über die Machtbefugnisse, Rechte bzw. Pflichten des Oberhauptes dieser Organisation, berichten die Urkunden aus Arrapha, wo diese Organisation m.E. den Namen dimtu zu tragen scheint.

Vor allem gilt hier zu zeigen, daß beide Bezeichnungen, bītu und dimtu, schon an sich das Gleiche bedeuten können. Überlegen wir zuerst, daß beide Wörter im Sinne von 'Bauten' gebraucht wurden. Der Begriff bītu ist mehr ausgedehnt und bedeutet 'ein beliebiges Haus', u.a. auch 'Wohnhaus', also 'Haus' schlechthin. Dimtu dagegen dürfte anscheinend ein größeres Gebäude bezeichnet haben, da dieses Wort als 'Turm, Wachturm' bezeugt ist.

In Alalah und ebenfalls in Babylonien zur Kassitenzeit bezeichnet bītu außerdem auch die patrilineare Hausgemeinschaft samt Besitztum. Die Urkunden aus

Arrapha dagegen, die sonst ausführlich über die Hausgemeinschaft berichten, gebrauchen jedoch den Terminus bītu nicht in diesem Sinne, obwohl dieses Wort, nach dem Satz niš bīti ša N.N. ('die Menschen des Hauses, das dem NN gehört') urteilend, auch dort üblich gewesen sein dürfte. Vermutlich hat man auf dieses Wort im besagten Sinn verzichtet, weil für die Bezeichnung dieser Organisation ein anderer Terminus technicus herkömmlicherweise im Umlauf war. Was nun das Wort dimtu angeht, so ist es fast in allen Abmachungen, die Familienimmobilien betreffen, in Arrapha wohl bezeugt. Es gibt vorläufig keine gesicherte Etymologie dieses Wortes. Aus den einschlägigen Kontexten geht hervor, daß zur dimtu einstweilen Felder, Gärten, Wirtschafts- und Wohnbauten samt Mobilien u.dgl. (Brunnen, Gehöft, Zäune, Wege, Hürden) gehört haben. Von den Feldern wird oft geschrieben, daß sie sich auf dem Acker einer dimtu befinden, die einer namhaft gemachten Person gehört. Den Urkunden HSS V 87, IX, IX 104; Gadd, 47 kann man entnehmen, daß die Rede von einem verstorbenen Ahnherrn resp. von seinem lebenden Nachfolger ist. Oft heißt es recht kurz: die Felder gehören zur dimtu des NN (z.B. TOL IX 8). Es kann auch heißen: die Felder befinden sich in der dimtu des NN, cf. Gadd, 26, 48; HSS V 86, 88, 90; HSS IX 27, 97, 99, 100, 102 u.a. Gelegentlich

umfaßt eine dimtu mehrere Siedlungen. In solchen Fällen hat KOSCHAKER, NKRA p.62 empfohlen, dimtu im Sinne 'Wachturm' auszulegen mit der Begründung, die nächste Umgebung nenne sich stets nach dem Wachturm. Ist aber die Rede von einem Acker einer größeren Stadt oder einer Festung, so erweist sich, daß darauf mehrere dimati bestanden. Die Deutung von KOSCHAKER ist also in diesem Falle kaum korrekt. Es kommt vor, daß dimtu einen kleineren 'Gutsbesitz' bezeichnet. Hier hat KOSCHAKER es für möglich gehalten, diese dimtu dem mittelassyrischen dunnu gleichzusetzen. Wie aber DIAKONOFF, RZOA S.51 bewiesen hat, bezeichnete man mit 'dunnu' ein von der Hausgemeinschaft abgesondertes Besitztum. Als ein solches kann beispielsweise in Arrapha das Erbstück von JEN, 160 gelten. Dieser 'Erbteil', zittu, befand sich innerhalb einer größeren dimtu und umfaßte einen 58 Pflüge großen Acker, auf welchem sich eine weitere (selbständige) dimtu samt Garten mit Brunnen befand.

Für die Gleichsetzung der Termini bītu und dimtu im Sinne 'Hausgemeinschaft' sprechen grundsätzlich die Urkunden JEN 135 und JEN 284. [Diese Quellen habe ich in meinem früheren Beitrag (VDI Jg.1959, H.1, p.35ff) nicht ausgewertet]. JEN 284 nennt das Besitztum der dimtu eindeutig ewru, wie es in Alalah in Verbindung mit bītu der Fall ist.

Diese Urkunde fixiert ein Feldertauschgeschäft: Tehiptilla übergibt aus dem Bestand seines dimtu-Besitzums ein 20 imēri großes Grundstück, bestehend aus Feldern und Häusern. Diese Immobilien werden als ewru der dimtu bezeichnet. Sie werden zusammen mit den daran haftenden Verpflichtungen übergeben (cf. Zeile 11ff): 20 ina imēri eqlēti ā bītā-ti ina dimti=šu ša ewer=ša ana M. ana šupeulti iddin ina ilku Tehiptilla ul ireduš. Im gleichen Zusammenhang sind diese Termini im Gerichtsprotokoll JEN 321 belegt. Hier wird die Zugehörigkeit namhaft gemachter Siedlungen zu einer bestimmten dimtu festgestellt.

Keltešup (Abkürzg. Kelia) führte eine Schadenersatzklage gegen Wantari, der rechtswidrig seine, Keltešup's, dimtu, die den Namen des Kissuk trägt, in Besitz genommen haben sollte. Keltešup legte auch ein Vernehmungsprotokoll der benachbarten Siedlungen vor; die Befragten erklärten darin, daß die besagte dimtu dem Kissuk gehört hatte, und daß die Einwohnerschaft der fraglichen Siedlung auch gegenwärtig für Keltešup arbeitet. Das Protokoll dieser Zeugenaussage ist uns erhalten geblieben (JEN 135); daraus geht klar hervor, daß Keltešup das ewru-Recht auf Kissuk's dimtu, insbesondere auf die besagten Siedlungen inne hatte (anāku ālāni iwarumma ēpuš). Wantari widerlegte es, indem er behauptete Verpflichtungen dieser dimtu getragen

zu haben (aššum eqlēti šāšunu ū dimti šāšu ālik ilki anāku-mī), er war aber nicht imstande dies durch Zeugen zu erhärten und verlor also den Prozeß.

Es ist nun bei dieser Urkunde beachtenswert, daß Wantari die Rechte Keltešup's als Gemeindeoberhauptes (ewri) bestimmter Siedlungen angefochten hatte und sie ihm strittig zu machen suchte, weil er, Wantari, angeblich deren Verpflichtungen (ilku) getragen haben sollte.

Der Pflichtbereich ewri (in Arrapha, infolge einer Metathese, gelegentlich auch erwi) heisst erwisse. Statt die juristischen Folgen für beide Parteien, die in Verbindung mit dem ilku-Dienst entstehen, zu formulieren, werden in einigen Rechtsurkunden die Konsequenzen erörtert, die aus dem erwišše entstehen. Das ist auch verständlich, denn in der Kategorie erwišše ist auch die ilku-Pflicht mit inbegriffen. Erwišše schließt ebenfalls auch den Kultus der örtlichen Göttern ein. Daher heißt es auch formelhaft: ana erwīšše ū ana ilāni NN lā iqereb (cf. JEN 89 und 216): der Käufer hat weder auf erwišše noch auf die Götter des Verkäufers keinerlei Ansprüche zu machen. Die besagte Pflicht, die Hausgötter zu bedienen, wird auch in testamentarischen Adoptionsurkunden genannt. So wird, z.B. in der oben erwähnten Urkunde Gadd, 51 das ewri-Recht dem Adoptivsohn nur in dem Falle erteilt, wenn der Adoptant beim Ableben keinen eigenen erwachsenen Sohn hinterläßt. Ist ein Sohn zur diesen

Zeit schon herangewachsen, so wird er zum Miterben, nebst dem Adoptivsohn, und, so heißt es ferner ausdrücklich, nur dem eigenen Sohn gebührt die Pflicht die Götter des Vaters zu pflegen.

Das ewri-Recht wird an den ältesten der Brüder, die gemeinschaftlich wirtschaften, vererbt. So ergibt es sich z.B. aus einem Gerichtsprotokoll Ed. CHIERA und SPEISER (JAOS Vol. 47, no 1, 16), daß das ewri-Recht (Zeile 73: ewur-šu ša Kawinni) von dem Vorhandensein des Erstgeburtrechtes abhängig gemacht wird: Kawinni ana Kunatu māru rabū-mi (Zeile 53 f. und 56 f). Gerade diese Tatsache war für die Richter entscheidend. Die Abmachung, die unter der Teilnahme von Kawinni getroffen wurde, haben die Richter für gesetzlich befunden, hingegen das Testament seines Neffen, das nach dem Tode des Kawinni verfaßt wurde, und das der erwähnten Abmachung widersprach, wurde für ungültig erklärt.

Das Besitztum der Hausgemeinschaft konnte nur mit Zustimmung der Gemeinschaft und deren Oberhauptes, des ewri, veräußert werden. Praktisch dürfte eine mündliche Erklärung bzw. die Anwesenheit des Oberhauptes genügt haben; gelegentlich hat man es vorgezogen, auf Wunsch der Parteien, darüber eine Urkunde zu verfassen. So stellt z.B. eine Urkunde JEN IOI, die Anerkennung

seitens des Hausoberhauptes gewisser Abmachungen, die seine Brüder getroffen haben, fest: Šarrašadūni, Sohn des Ithišta, zählt auf sämtliche unter seiner Obhut befindliche Grundstücke (eqlēti āwiru), die von seinen eigenen Brüdern dem Ennamati, Sohn des Tehiptilla, übergeben werden. Dabei verpflichtet sich Šarrašadūni bezüglich dieser Grundstücke keinerlei Ansprüche zu erheben. Allein für diese Erklärung (denn an den Abmachungen nahm er überhaupt nicht teil) erhält Šarrašadūni von dem Ennamati ein Geschenk (s. JEN 68, 212, 280, 415). So heißt es wörtlich: (1) ummā Šarrašadūni=ma mār Ithišta (2) mīnum=mē (3) eqlēti āwiru mīnummē (4) qaqqaru pāihu (5) ū qaqqaru ša bitāte epšu (6) ina libbi āli ša Tentewe (7) ana makratti kirā (8) ū qaqqara halehwe (9) ina āli ša Tente (10) ša ^mHišmeja ū ša (11) ^mAkija ahhē=ja ana (12) Ennamati mār Tehiptilla iddinu (13) anāku ina warkī=šunu (14) lā ašassī=mī (15) šumma Šarrašadūni ina warkī (16) eqlēti ša pi duppi annīti (17) išassī 1 manā kaspi 1 manā purāši (18) ana Ennamati umallā (19) ū Ennamati [.....] (20) kīma qīšti=šu ana Šarrašadūni nadna. (Neun Zeugen, darunter der Torwart und der Schreiber, und sechs Siegel, darunter des Schreibers und des Šarrašadūni. Das Schriftstück schließt mit der Anmerkung: duppu ina abullī ša āl¹Turša šaṭir).

Der Kauf, bzw. Anschaffung von Immobilien in Arrapha erfolgte nur auf dem Umwege eines Eintrittes in die Bruderschaft (ahhutu) des Verkäufers oder in Form einer Adoption (marutu). Es scheint belanglos, welche der beiden Vertragsformen gewählt wird. Ob man die ahhutu, oder die marutu-Form wählte, hängt m.E. jeweils von der Beschaffenheit des verkauften Eigentums ab. Ist das Grundstück aus einem bereits parzellierten Hausgemeinschaftseigentum hervorgegangen, so gilt beim Verkauf die marutu-Form. Ist das Grundstück ad hoc aus einem nicht aufgeteilten hausgemeinschaftlichen Besitztum abgesondert worden, so gilt beim Verkauf die ahhutu-Form. In beiden Fällen war es wichtig zu erwähnen, daß das betreffende Grundstück zur einer bestimmten Hausgemeinschaft gehört. Daher wird auch in den Urkunden die dintu, zu der das verkaufte Grundstück gehört, bzw. innerhalb welcher es sich befindet, stets erwähnt. Diesem Sachverhalt zufolge, muß der Käufer in die hausgemeinschaftliche Organisation eingeführt werden. Auf dieser Weise ist es m.E. überhaupt erklärlich, warum die Übergabe eines Grundstückes nur auf dem Wege einer fingierter Verwandtschaft erst erfolgen konnte. (Es ist mir hier leider nicht möglich, näher auf dieses aufschlußreiche Problem einzugehen). Betrachten wir mal den Unterschied

zwischen mārūtu - und ahhūtu-Urkunden. Die gleichen Personen bereinigen die Formalitäten bei der Übergabe eines Grundstückes, einmal durch die ahhūtu, ein anderes Mal durch die mārūtu. Aufschlußreich ist der folgende Fall: die zwei Brüder, Tauhūhe, Sohn des Tehia, und Kelia, Sohn des Akkulenni, nehmen den Tehiptilla als Bruder auf, wenn von der Übergabe eines Feldes die Rede ist (JEN 99); sie adoptieren ihn aber bei der Übergabe eines Gartens (RA XXVIII 3). Das besagt m.E., daß vorher das Feld kollektiv bestellt wurde, der Garten aber sich bereits im Privatbesitz (resp. Privatgebrauch) der beiden Brüder befand. Daß das Besitztum einer Hausgemeinschaft parzelliert sein konnte, ist auch anderen Dokumenten zu entnehmen. Das Eigentum des Helpišūh war unter seinen Söhnen wie folgt verteilt: Gulpazah und Mattešup erhielten gemeinsam Felder (und auch Kreditoren!) (JEN 320), damit lösten sie sich von den übrigen Brüdern, die ihr Teil weiterhin gemeinsam bestellten, ab. Um noch ein Stück aus diesem gemeinschaftlichen Teil der Brüder herauszukriegen, verwickelt Gulpazah langsam aber sicher seinen eigenen Bruder, den Punniharpa (abgekürzt Punnia) in Schulden: zuerst leiht er ihm Geld mit fünfjähriger Frist, wobei sein Grundstück als Pfand gilt (JEN 315), dann leiht er seinem Bruder zusätzlich noch eine Summe, dafür darf er nun seine Grundstücke fristlos gebrauchen (JEN 311),

endlich faßt er den ganzen Erbteil. Den letzten Vertrag verfaßt Gulpazah auf die Art, daß er in die Bruderschaft(!) des Punniharpa aufgenommen wird(JEN 87). Hier ist es durchsichtig, daß die 'ahhutu' keineswegs als Blutsverwandschaft, sondern nur als ein gemeinschaftlicher Haushalt anzusehen ist. Sind doch Gulpazah mit Punniharpa sowieso leibliche Brüder! Bewährterweise durch den Eintritt in die Bruderschaft, kriegte Gulpazah den Garten seines anderen leiblichen Bruders, des Tupkitilla (JEN 204). Danach wegen Gebrauchs dieses Gartens leitet er einen Prozeß gegen seinen Bruder Mattešup, mit dem er einen gemeinsamen Haushalt führt, ein. Es ist durchaus möglich, daß eben im Zusammenhang mit diesem Rechtsverfahren Gulpazah sich gemüßigt fühlte, seinen an die Grundstücke von Tupkitilla und Mattešup grenzenden Garten gegen einen anderen Garten zu tauschen, der an dem Grundstück seines Vaters lag und ehemals fünf Brüdern einer fremden Hausgemeinschaft gehörte (JEN 255).

Hätten aber alle Brüder, die das Eigentum gemeinsam besaßen, an der Abmachung Gulpazah-Punniharpa (also nicht nur dieser allein!) teilgenommen, so konnte diese Angelegenheit eher in der Form einer Adoption, als in der Form eines ahhutu-Vertrags geregelt werden. Wenn der Vertrag im Namen mehrerer 'Brüder' verfaßt wird, (mögen sie auch auf unterschiedlicher Verwandtschaftsstufe stehen), vorausgesetzt, daß sie ein gemeinsames

Eigentum besitzen, bzw. eben die ganze 'Bruderschaft' bilden, dann wird urkundlich nicht etwa der Eintritt in die Bruderschaft (wie es zu erwarten wäre), sondern die Adoption des Käufers bezeugt. In diesem Sinne sind die Adoptionsurkunden JEN 38, 46 und 52 zu verstehen, die im Namen zweier nichtverwandter 'Brüder' verfaßt wurden. Das gilt auch für JEN 67 und 214, die im Namen zweier blutsverwandter Brüder und eines nichtverwandten 'Bruders' verfaßt sind. Daß alle besagte Fälle von einem bestimmten, aus der Hausgemeinschaft abgesonderten Grundstück handeln, geht aus der Tatsache hervor, daß alle diesbezügliche Urkunden den 'öffentlichen Arbeitsdienst' (ilku) erwähnen. Diese ilku-Pflicht haben demnach auch künftig die Verkäufer, also die 'Brüder' zu tragen, das verkaufte Grundstück wird aber hiermit von dieser Verpflichtung befreit. Anscheinend entsteht das Problem der Arbeitspflichten, wie es übrigens auch in der hethitischen Gesetzgebung der Fall ist, nur beim Verkauf eines Eigentums in corpore, resp. bei der Übergabe des restlichen Teiles, nicht aber bei der Veräußerung eines beliebigen Grundstückes.

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Es war allerdings nicht die Absicht meines Vortrags - und das sei nun zum Schluß betont - hier bloß Beweise dafür zusammenzubringen, daß dimtu die Bedeu-

tung einer sozialen Organisation zukommt, wenn auch die Deutung des Zentralbegriffes dimtu wohl sehr gut geeignet ist, uns zum Verständnis der Hausgemeinschaft zu verhelfen. Hat doch SPEISER, AASOR XVI p.66, schon 1936 die Meinung geäußert daß, allem Anschein nach, dimtu eine bestimmte Organisation bezeichnen müsse. In seiner Veröffentlichung der Gerichtsprotokollen in der Sache Kuššiharbe bemerkt SPEISER, ibid. p.66, zur Übersetzung der Urkunde SMN 285 wie folgt: "In this line and in line 12 we have a satisfactory explanation of the significance of the dimtu. It now becomes clear that such districts were organized and distinguished primarily for the purposes of feudal service and taxes". Dies folgert der Gelehrte aus der Erwähnung von 30 Mann, die die Arbeitspflichten der 'dimāti šē'āti' tragen (in der 4. Zeile heißt wörtlich: 30 amēlūti ālik [ilki] ša dimāti šē'āti); eben diese Leute habe Kuššiharbe, in seiner Eigenschaft als Stadthauptmann, gesetzwidrig vom Palastdienst abgezogen und sie zu seinen Privatnutzen eingesetzt.

Es ist m.E. nicht angebracht, - und darauf legen wir wert - in diesem Falle von Feudalverhältnissen zu sprechen. Kommt hier doch keine Lehnverpflichtung, sondern der Arbeitsdienst innerhalb der Gemeinde zur Geltung.

- 1) Besonders einleuchtend ist die Quelle Gadd 44. Hier steht für den gänzlich akk. Ausdruck ana zitti 'als Erbstück', der Satz ana i-wi-ri; ewri ist hier der akk. Genitiv von ewru, wohl per analogiam zu zittu. Die Form ewur-im Ausdruck ewur=šu ša N.ēpuš (TCL IX 10; HSS V 40) und wohl auch die in den Arraphaurkunden übliche Mischform vom hurritischen Infinitiv auf =umma und vom akk. Verbum epēšu (ewurumma ēpuš. etēpuš) (cf. AASOR XVI 38; Gadd. 51), verschleiern gänzlich die ursprüngliche hurritische Form.
- 2) In den eigentlichen hurritischen Quellen finden wir vorläufig ewri nur im Sinne 'König' belegt.

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**ORIENTAL LITERATURE PUBLISHING HOUSE
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In colonial Korea, as in many countries of the East, evolution of individual kinds of share rent reflected the process of formation of capitalist production relations in agriculture. The essence of the process consisted in separating the immediate producer from the implements and means of production and his transformation into a hired agricultural labourer on the one hand, and the transformation of the feudal landlord into a capitalist employer — on the other. It should be noted that the evolution of certain kinds of share rent does not occur isolated from the general process of development of the capitalist mode of production; it is related to it and is determined by it. *It is only the development of the capitalist mode of production that creates the immediate conditions and prerequisites for the materialization of the possibilities of transition from feudal relations of production to capitalist relations, potentially inherent in certain kinds of share rent.* Therefore it would be erroneous to speak of share rent as a transitional form of economy without taking account of the general level of the development of capitalism, i. e. the specific historical conditions. In colonial Korea, because of the general low level of the development of capitalism, the types of share rent, in which possibilities of transition to the path of capitalist development were represented most of all were characteristic of the first stage of the development of capitalist relations in the country's agriculture. The formation of capitalist production relations proceeded in Korea on the basis of medieval agricultural technique, a direct heritage of the feudal mode of production.

It should also be noted that in Korea of the thirties and forties of the present century evolution of share rent besides transforming share-croppers into agricultural labourers proceeded along the way of changing landowners into capitalist employers as well. There was a small-scale process of turning the share-cropper into a capitalist employer and the landow-

ner merely into a recipient of land rent. *Typical and decisive in colonial Korea was the first kind of the evolution of share rent.* The development of capitalism and the growth of the market related to it, as well as export requirements stimulated the expansion of commercial agriculture. In the peculiar conditions of Korea, due to the presence of a large number of feudal vestiges, such a «commercialisation» of peasant farms could be of a forcible nature and proceeded under the «guidance» of landowners and usurers. Korean landowners could not start at once on the path of capitalist development, and at the same time the old forms of tenancy, which provided them with 40—50% of the crops, could no longer satisfy them. This inevitably prompted the landowners to utilize the opportunities of increasing the marketable yield of produce, inherent in share rent. This rent enabled the landowners to obtain the biggest possible income as compared with other kinds of rent; its payment began to absorb not only the entire surplus but also a part of the indispensable product. The nature of rent changed qualitatively. While remaining a product rent in form, it could, under the new economic conditions created by the development of capitalism, comprise also some features inherent in the capitalist mode of production, i. e. the elements of profit on the invested capital, which in the metayer system are not yet separated from rent.

The thirties and forties were characterized in colonial Korea by a considerable growth of the field of expansion of share rent. For example, the number of share tenants increased in Korea between 1930 and 1940 by 283,000 families, and the area of leased land by almost 80,000 chonbos¹. The extension of share rent under the new conditions predetermined the intervention, differing at various stages, of the landowner into the process of production by supplying the tenant with the implements and means of production, advancing money and seeds and exercising definite control over farming. Such a process in itself testified to the appearance of transitional forms of farms and to the beginning of the process of transformation of feudal relations of production into capitalist relations.

Externally differing from one another by the amount of means and implements of labour, supplied by the landowner

¹ 1 chonbo=0.99 hectare. — In Chon Sik, *The Structure of Korea's Agriculture* (Tesen-no noge kiko, Tokio, 1939, стр. 62).

to his tenant, individual kinds of share rent essentially underwent considerable changes. Practically, however, there were very frequent cases when the close interlacing of feudal survivals with the features inherent in capitalist economy made it impossible to determine whether it was a case of payment by labour or of capitalism; the latter fact greatly impedes any precise classification of metayer forms of rent into fixed groups by their closeness to capitalist economy. By labour tasks we mean here survivals which remained from feudalism in the shape of partial payment by labour for the land. Labour tasks were generally performed with the means of production of the tenant himself, but this was not an indispensable condition. Labour tasks, as vestiges of corvée (labour rent) were described by V. I. Lenin in his book «Development of Capitalism in Russia»:

Proceeding from the unquestionable thesis that metayage does not represent a single system from the economic standpoint, we deem it possible, however, to classify it into three principal types interconnected by a chain of various transitional forms.

Tenancy system, where the landowner took no part in managing the farm, was the most widespread and simplest kind of metayage. The process of farming was carried out by the petty peasant who used his own implements and means of production. The landowner collected land rent in the shape of a share of the crop for the leased land. The landowners provided the tenant either with land alone or with land and dwelling. The tenant used his own agricultural implements, seeds, and labour. The tenant, and more frequently members of his family, were made to do non-agricultural work on the landowner's estate; as viewed by some economists, this latter fact basically proved that metayage reproduced feudal relations of production, though the labour of the tenant's family was, as a rule, applied outside the sphere of production². The crop was shared by the landowners and the tenant at the ratios of 3:7, 5:5, 6:4, etc.; as a rule, it was divided at the ratio of 5:5.

If the tenant used the landowner's water for irrigation of the land, the landowner's share was increased by 10—20%. Such a kind of tenancy in colonial Korea was widespread everywhere, regardless of the method of levying rent. This

² See «Революционный Восток», № 5, 1934, стр. 96—104.

kind of share rent was superseded in the thirties by other kinds of rent.

The development of commercial agriculture in Korea in the period between the twenties and the forties gradually led to a change in the old feudal kinds of rent which existed since the Li dynasty and to the appearance of new types of metayage in which the landowner provided the tenant not only with land, but also with a part of the implements, and means of production. The share-cropper used some of his own implements, and means of production in the process of farming, as well as the required labour. The substantial difference between the second group of metayage and the first one lies in a certain participation of the landowner in the process of production. This joint participation of the landowner and the tenant in farming already represented, in its economic essence, a transition from the feudal mode of production to the capitalist one. An example of metayage of the second group is supplied by the so-called system of three-share tenancy, which was widespread in colonial Korea, and which exists to this day in South Korea. With this kind of metayage, the landowner supplied the tenant, besides land, with seeds, and fertilizers, and sometimes with livestock, or agricultural implements. It is worth noting that formerly, up to the twenties, the landowner did not as a rule, provide the tenant with such items as, for instance, fertilizers, and agricultural implements. The landowner's share in the shape of implements and means of production, supplied to the tenant, was characterised by the ratio 2:1, which provided two shares of the crop for the landowner's benefit. The tenant's dependence on the landowner became so great that he could no longer do farming independently. As compared with the first kind of metayage, the yield of marketable produce considerably increased. Many other kinds of metayage may be classified as belonging to the same group, but the transitional features are more clearly pronounced in them.

Let us consider one of the most interesting kinds of metayage termed *magin*³. A peasant deprived of any implements of production received from a landowner land, a dwelling (a dugout or a hut), seeds, foodstuffs, fertilizers, and agricultural implements. Sometimes he was to take care of the landowner's garden or orchard which he tended,

³ Korean. A man living in a dugout or a hut.

performing all the required work; he was also to do various work on the landlord's own farm. The landowner did not fix any rent in an official way. The terms demanded that the tenant after collecting the crop should reimburse the debts with interest to the landowner. After harvesting the crop, the tenant paid his debts which literally amounted to the whole of the crop. As a result, the landowner had to provide him with foodstuffs, etc. at once. Essentially the *magin* metayer differed little by his status from an agricultural labourer, although he had not yet become one. The *magin* type was known since the emergence of the Li dynasty and can serve as example of the evolution of metayage. It was only in the twenties and thirties that the landowners began supplying the *magin* tenants with fertilizers and agricultural implements.

The kind of metayage known as *chinmojak* can serve as a vivid instance of transition to purely capitalist enterprise. Three varieties of this kind have been known in Korea: *chundodi*, *chondodi*, and *chundojo*. All the three varieties hardly differed from one another.

Essentially this kind of metayage meant that individual well-to-do peasants or town-folk rented plots of land and started farming on it by subletting smaller plots. In this case the metayer-subtenant received, in addition to the plot, agricultural implements, foodstuffs, fertilizers, and a dwelling. In autumn the tenant received as reimbursement from his metayers the whole of the crop whose greater part was sold in the market, and the rest was used for the distribution of loans in the shape of seeds, and foodstuffs. In this case the tenant's loans assumed the nature of simple wages paid for the metayer-subtenant's labour. Fully deprived of the means of production, the subtenant of this kind of metayage existed by the sale of his labour. It is noteworthy that before World War I such a kind of metayage was never resorted to by town dwellers and very seldom by well-to-do peasants.

Such a kind of metayage signifies the second type of evolution, the transformation of the tenant into a capitalist employer, and of the metayer-tenant almost completely into an agricultural labourer. Farms of this type are almost of a capitalist nature. *Chinmojak* was used to some extent in the *Hwanhedo* province (according to the old administrative division).

Further evolution of the metayage system whose prolonged existence has been due to agrarian over-population led to a complete transformation of the tenant into an agricultural labourer. This was typical of the third group of metayage in which all the means of production, including the land and money advances, are considered as a specific form of wages, belong to the landowners, while the metayer almost turns into a hired worker paid for by a share of the crop. In our opinion, this type of farming is of the capitalist type developing on the basis of the lowest possible organic composition of invested capital, i. e. under conditions typical of colonial countries where important feudal survivals are prevalent in the sphere of agricultural production. An example of this kind of metayage is supplied by the so-called «settling tenancy» which appeared in Korea only during the colonial period and which was connected with the reclamation of waste, fallow, and virgin land.

The employers,—frequently they were various Japanese agricultural companies,—bought from the Governor General's Office large tracts of land which they subsequently leased in plots of one or two *chonbos*. Apart from the land, the tenant was provided with a dwelling, seeds, fertilizers, livestock, foodstuffs, money advances, and consumer goods. Payment of loans began in the first year. The company or the employer fixed every year the assortment of the crops to be cultivated, the method of tilling the soil, of irrigating it and the amount of fertilizers, and saw to it that these conditions were fulfilled by the tenants.

This kind of metayage most graphically reveals its capitalist nature, and its very emergence reflected the needs of the developing commodity economy, of the market. This form of metayage testifies in a particularly distinct way to the process of separating the immediate producer from the implements and means of production. By way of illustration, in the thirties, landowners and various agricultural companies leased land to those peasants only who were completely deprived of both land and all implements and means of production.

Such a way is most typical of the capitalist evolution of the landowner class in colonial Korea.

The 1951 agrarian reform in South Korea did not do away with, but only reduced the sphere of spread of metayage, but capitalist evolution of the landowner class was ne-

vertheless considerably accelerated. Despite official assertions, share tenancy of land has remained in the South Korean countryside. True enough, statistics do not take it into account, as it develops in disguised forms, so as to by-pass the stipulations of the agrarian Law, but the scope of share tenancy can be estimated from some data. For example, in 1954, 21% of peasant households took land on lease⁴. Capitalist trends in South Korean agriculture are manifest in the increase of hired agricultural labour. Between 1951 and 1954 the proportion of agricultural labourers rose from 4—5% to 15—20% of the rural population.

The agrarian reform of 1951 in South Korea intensified the process of expropriating the peasantry and of turning its broad masses into a class of hired agricultural labourers.

⁴ Adzia saidzy kaidzai nankun. «Asia», Political and Economic Annual, Tokyo, 1956, p. 225.

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 2. *push* - adds one or more elements to the end of the array.
 3. *pop* - removes the last element from the array.

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XXV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

PAPERS PRESENTED BY THE USSR DELEGATION

G. F. KIM and G. D. TYAGAI

**WORKS OF SOVIET ORIENTALISTS
ON THE HISTORY AND ECONOMICS
OF KOREA**

ORIENTAL LITERATURE PUBLISHING HOUSE
Moscow 1960

The studies of Korea carried out by Soviet scholars are the continuation of the best genuine by scientific traditions of the Russian orientology. The history of the Korean people was first studied on scientific principles in Russia by the prominent Russian orientalist of the first half of the 19th century N.Ya.Bichurin (Iakinf). In his book "Collection of Data on the Peoples Inhabiting Central Asia in Ancient Times" there are many pages which on the basis of the Chinese dynasties chronicles, gave a picture of the ancient and medieval history of the Korean Peninsula since the first centuries B.C. up to the 9th century A.D.¹.

In the second half of the 19th century Russian scientists, writers, diplomats and businessmen who visited the neighbouring Korean state produced a number of interesting works on Korea. Russian travellers who in the majority of cases were the spokesmen of the tsarist government policy, were to some extent tendencious in their approach. However, in their memoirs and notes they told the truth of the rigorous destiny of the talented and diligent Korean people and of its devoted heroic struggle for the independence of their Motherland.² These works were instrumental

in building up the first scientific materials which summarised the existing knowledge on the country. In 1900 the "Description of Korea" in three volumes was published which served as an encyclopaedia on the history, economics, geography and ethnography of the country. This were the beginnings of the Russian scientific studies of Korea later brilliantly represented by an outstanding scientist N.V.Küner who worked also in Soviet time.³

Prerevolutionary Russian studies of Korea which adopted on the whole bourgeois methodology of scientific research did not pay enough attention to the question of the socio-economic development of the country and by no means could provide a correct evaluation of the liberation struggle waged by the Korean people.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution Korean studies, as well as other branches of scientific research began to develop on the basis of genuinely scientific Marxist-Leninist approach.

The policy of the young Soviet State which decidedly opposed all kinds of national and racial discrimination, created favourable conditions for the development of Soviet Orientology and the study of Korea in particular.

The history of the development of Soviet Korean studies can be divided into two main periods:

the first period - 1917-1945, the second one - from 1945 and up to the present time.

During the first period of Korean studies their division into various branches was not sufficiently pronounced. They developed as a "country study" with a lean towards history and economics. The Communist University of the Working People of the East and its printed organ the "Materials on National-Colonial Problems" were the centre of the scientific study of Korea which at that period was unfavourably influenced by the lack of immediate connections between the USSR and colonial Korea making it difficult to obtain the necessary source material. However, in spite of all difficulties this period produced a considerable number of works on Korea although it lacked the summarizing work in this field. In the 20's and 30's only small booklets were published.⁴ Besides that the periodicals - "Materials on the National-Colonial Problems," "Revolutionary East", "The Pacific", "New East", "The World Economy and World Politics" and others - carried articles devoted to the struggle of the Korean people for their national independence, the socio-economic status of the working people, forms and methods of colonial exploitation, etc. The book written by N. Kim analyzed the conditions existing in the country

and the life of its people during the Japanese colonial rule, should be considered the best work of that period.⁵

Soviet Students of Korea proceeded from the national policy of the Communist Party and Soviet Government who realized in every-day life the Lenin's principles of the proletarian internationalism, the principles that ushered in a new era in the relations between the peoples. These works by Soviet orientologists promoted the formation of Marxist cadres in the colonial Korea. Written on the basis of the new events in the history of the country they have not lost their significance today. On the one hand they provide a correct general evaluation of the country's position, on the other hand they contained valuable materials for further study of the country.⁶

It should be pointed out that the works of the Soviet Scholars on Korea of that period presented serious scientific research work bearing on the acute political issues and current events of every-day reality.

A new era in the history of the Korean people began in 1945 when they were freed from many-years-long colonial oppression. The Korean people led by their glorious Working Party created their own People's Democratic Republic and are building socialism, waging at the same time relentless struggle for the peaceful unification of the country. A new period

set in in the Soviet studies of Korea. The victory of the People's Democratic Revolution and the successes scored by the socialist construction in the People's Democratic Republic of Korea evoked a lively interest on the part of the Soviet people. They have been following the life and struggle of the fraternal Korean people with unabated attention and sympathy. The Soviet reader wanted books which would describe the life of the Korean people in all its aspects. The qualified specialists started to be trained after 1945 - historians, economists, linguists, philologists, - all of them students and post-graduates of the largest scientific centres of our country - the Faculty of History of Moscow University, since 1956 - of the Institute of Oriental Languages, the Oriental Faculty of the Leningrad State University, of the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies (up to 1954) and later of the Institute of Foreign Relations.

The Institute of Oriental studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR became the centre of the scientific research on Korea; here a special sector on Korea was set up dealing with the history, economics, literature and language of the country.

Immediately after 1945 the main problems of scientific research were those that pertained to modern history.

During the first years of independence of Korea the publication of popular and scientific research articles in numerous journals and magazines and the issue of booklets were aimed at introducing to the Soviet reader the various aspects of the struggle waged by the Korean working people for the construction of a socialist society.⁷

I. Kravtsov's monograph "American Imperialistic Aggression in Korea, 1945-1951" (M. 1951) appeared in 1951-1952 together with A. I. Pigulevskaya's work "The Korean People in Its Struggle for Independence and Democracy" (M. 1952, 360 p.). Despite the essential drawbacks of these first big works on Korea their doubtless advantage consisted in the fact that they gave a sufficiently detailed account of the history of the Korean people after their liberation from colonial oppression.

In 1954 in collection of works entitled "The Korean People's Democratic Republic" an attempt was made at summarising the knowledge on various aspects of the Korean history, economics, geography and language and also of acquainting the Soviet reader with various facts of the internal and external activities of the Korean state after liberation.⁸

In 1958-1959 F. I. Shabshina published the "Studies Modern History of Korea" in two parts.⁹ The "Studies" is a significant work which analyzes

the most important period in the history of the country from correct methodological positions and on the basis of a broad factual material consisting mainly of Korean sources. In the first part of the "Essays" the author bears on such important problems as the formation and development of the Korean proletariat, its role in the liberation movement, the dissemination of Marxism in Korea, the role of the national bourgeoisie in the liberation movement, problems pertaining to the peasant movement, and also forms and methods of colonial oppression. The second part of the "Studies" embraces the period of 1945-1953 and is devoted to the study of socialist construction in the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

The problem of socialist construction is in the centre of attention of Soviet research works on Korean economy. A number of works were devoted to the economic system of the Korean people's Republic, the industrialisation of the country and reorganisation of agriculture.¹⁰

Soviet historians pay much attention to studying the situation in South Korea, mostly to the liberation, antiimperialist struggle waged by the people there, the economic situation in the South of the country and to the exposure of the reactionary essence of the antidemocratic Syngman Rhee's regime. However, the all-round research into the problems of

South Korea is hampered by the lack of material. This explains the absence of special summarizing works on South Korea. Until recently but very few research articles on various aspects of the situation in South Korea have been published¹¹. Besides that South Korea was dealt with in all general works on Korea after her liberation in 1945.

In 1959 the collective work of the Moscow scholars on Korea entitled "South Korea. Economic and Political Situation (1945-1958)" was published, which is the first attempt at summarizing the accumulated material and throwing light on certain political and economic problems of today's South Korea.

After the World War II the Korean question occupied an important place in world politics. This is why the study of the Korean question in the framework of international relations after 1945 became one of the leading themes in the work of Soviet Scientists¹².

The central theme of the historians engaged in the research of contemporary and modern history of Korea, is the history of the revolutionary struggle of the Korean people. The works of Soviet historians on this subject provide convincing proof that the Korean people has very old revolutionary traditions and a glorious place in its historical past belongs to the selfless struggle

against national and social oppression. Social monographs treat the largest anti-imperialist armed uprising of the Korean people that ever occurred in its contemporary and modern history - the peasant uprising of 1893-95 and the popular rebellion of 1919 which exerted a very grave influence on the further development of the struggle waged by the working masses of the country against the oppression by foreign and national exploiters. The works of B.M.Mazurov as "The Anti-Japanese Armed Struggle of the Korean People, 1931-1940" (M.1958) and some others show that this struggle reached its climax in the anti-Japanese armed resistance of the Korean people during the period between 1931 and 1945.

The study of the revolutionary tradition of the Korean people is carried out in close association with the research into the level of development of productive forces and production relations and also the economic conditions at various stages in the development of the country.¹⁴

The works of Soviet specialists on Korea studying the country's economics prior to the liberation centre on the analysis of socio-economic prerequisites of the Korean People's Democratic Revolution. The book by I.S.Kazakevich is devoted to the study of agricultural relations in Korea on

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the eve of the World War II . A number of works elucidate the economic situation in the country at the period of the world economic crisis.

The solid basis for the study of Korea created during the past few years made it possible to start the research into medieval and ancient history of Korea which has not been studied in our country almost at all. The main topic in the investigation of the Korean ancient history is the disintegration of the primitive communal system and the appearance of class society, as well as the problem of the existence of slavery and the appearance of feudalism at the period of Three States.

The problem of the peculiarities of feudalism, the disintegration of state ownership of land and the development of feudal private property makes up the basic trend in the research carried out by the Soviet specialists on medieval Korea.

With regard to the study of ancient and medieval history of Korea it is necessary to point out the works by M.N. Pak. Profound study of the works by Korean historians of the period of Three Kingdoms and of the source material of later periods enabled him, for the first time in the Soviet studies of Korea, to offer important and serious works on these aspects of Korean history¹⁷.

Soviet scholars started the publication of

Korean historical monuments of ancient and medieval history. In 1959 M.N.Pak published a translation of the work written by the 11th century historian Kim Bu Sik "Historical Chronicles of the Three States" ("Samguk Sagi") with his introduction and commentary. The "Historical Chronicles of the Three States" which were recorded in 1145 include the ancient written sources (chronicles, chronological notes, various descriptions and biographies) and provide an extremely important source for the study of the earliest history of the Korean peoples. Theses on ancient and medieval history of Korea have been written on the basis of the primary sources. Here belong the theses of R.Sh.Djarylgasinoва "The Ancient State of Kogure. A Historico-Ethnographic Study(the "Samguk Sagi", part II) and Y.V.Vanin "Fendal Korea in the XIII-XIVth Centuries" (Korea=sa, Donguk Phengam).

The development of science in the Korean People's Democratic Republic exerted a very favourable influence on the study of Korea in the USSR after 1945. The Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean Government attach great importance to the development of a genuinely Marxist science of history, economics and philology. The Korean historians and economists create works devoted to the great victories won by the Korean people in

the process of constructing socialism. At the same time they are working on books which elucidate different periods of Korean history and in which the most complicated socio-economic problems of ancient and medieval history of Korea are raised. These works present the heroic past of the Korean people in all its glorious truth.

Important scientific work is under way at the Institutes of History, Economics, Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Korean People's Democratic Republic. Scientists of the Korean People's Democratic Republic have created summarizing works on the history of the country, its economics and literature within a very brief period of time, all these works being based on the genuine¹⁸ Marxist conceptions.

The progress of the humanities in the Korean People's Democratic Republic could not but influence the state development of the studies on Korea in the USSR. Moreover, from the very first days of the development of Democratic Korea Soviet researchers in this field are working in close collaboration with the scientists of the new Korea. This is one of the specific traits of the development of the Soviet studies on Korea as part of the socialist culture which becomes richer due to this collaboration.

At the present time, we believe, many problems pertaining to modern and contemporary history of Korea may be considered solved due to the joint efforts of the scholars of the Korean People's Democratic Republic of the USSR. Here belong the fight for Korea between the colonial powers, the liberation and anti-feudal struggle of the Korean people, the forms and methods of the colonial oppression of the Korean people and also certain problems of socialist construction in the Korean People's Democratic Republic. However, much remains to be done in this field.

The main efforts of the scientists in both countries at present are directed at the study of the pending issues of contemporary history and of socialist construction in Korea. If we add to the above the considerable achievements of Korean scientists in the study of early and late feudalism we can assert that the past 15 years, i.e. the second period in the Korean studies, were the most fruitful for the study of Korea in general and the Korean studies in the Soviet Union in particular.

- 1/ See Н.Я.Бичурин /Иакинф/, Собрание сведений о народах, обитавших в Средней Азии в древние времена, т. I-III, М.-Л., 1950-1953.
- 2/ See А.Г.Дубенцов. Хамкенская и Пхиенанская провинции Кореи, Хабаровск, 1897;
"По Корее. Путешествия 1885-1896", М., 1958;
Л.А.Поджио, Очерки Кореи, СПб, 1898.
- 3/ See Н.В.Кюнер. Очерки Кореи, т. I-2. Известия Восточного Института, т. XII, Владивосток, 1910-1912;
Н.В.Кюнер. Лекции по коммерческой географии стран Дальнего Востока, Владивосток, 1906.
- 4/ See В.Д.Виленский-Сибиряков. В когтях японского империализма. Борьба корейского народа за независимость. М., 1919, 16 с.; Н.Ким, Корея М., 1929, 37 с. Д.Рубинштейн, Пробуждающаяся Корея, М., 1927, 32 с.
- 5/ Н.Ким, Под гнетом японского империализма. Владивосток, 1926, 152 с.

- 6/ For example Цой Шен У В., Положение в Корее, - "Революционный Восток", 1930, № 8 с. 210-219; А.Ф.Сперанский, Национальное движение в Корее. - "Новый Восток", 1923 г. кн. 3, с. 122-138; О.Плетнер, К аграрному вопросу в Корее - "На аграрном фронте", 1925, № 1, с. 124-138; Революционное движение в Корее и оккупация Маньчжурии in the collection of articles "Оккупация Маньчжурии" и борьба империалистов", М., 1932, с. 87-91.
- 7/ See П.Крайнов. Борьба корейского народа за независимость. М., 1948, 104, с. Л.Перов. Американская агрессия в Корее, М., 1951, с. 116; Б.В.Щетинин, Возникновение народных комитетов в Северной Корее "Советское государство и право", № 4, 1947; Г.Ф.Ким, Ведущая роль Трудовой партии в народно-демократической революции, "Советское востоковедение", № 2, М., 1956 .
- 8/ On this see also Г.Ф.Ким, Корейский народ в борьбе за независимость и демократию., М., 1957.
- 9/ Ф.И.Шабшина, Очерки новейшей истории Кореи /1918-1945/ - М., 1959; Ф.И.Шабшина "Очерки новейшей истории Кореи" /1945-1953/, М., 1958.

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15/ И.С.Казакевич, Аграрные отношения в Корее накануне второй мировой войны, М., 1958.

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- 18/ See Общая история Кореи, т. I-2, Пхеньян, 1957-1959; История Кореи в средние века. Пхеньян, 1954, Общая история корейской литературы, Пхеньян, 1959; Развитие народного хозяйства КНДР, Пхеньян, 1954, 1955 г.г.

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XXV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

PAPERS PRESENTED BY THE USSR DELEGATION

A. N. KONONOV

**SOME PROBLEMS RELATING TO
THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF
ORIENTOLOGY IN THE U.S.S.R.**

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1

The knowledge and practical use of Oriental languages in Russia date from hoary antiquity. It is highly probable that the first Oriental languages which became known to our ancestors were the languages of the Turkic family. The first trustworthy information concerning the contacts between the Russes, on the one hand, and the Khazars, Petchenegs, Volga Bulgars and Polovtses, on the other, relates to the IX and X centuries ¹.

The Russian annals have preserved numerous evidence of the practical knowledge by the Russians of the East and Oriental languages ². In the XVII century the posolsky prikaz (Foreign Affairs Board) had a number of translators from Oriental languages into Russian ³. Practical information concerning eastern countries and peoples, their languages, habits and customs was also obtained through merchants and pilgrims ⁴.

The first official measure aimed at training Orientalists, and above all, translators from Oriental languages, were connected with the activities of Peter I ⁵.

The progress of science and art during the reign of Peter I, his active policy in the East — his interest for Siberia, China and Mongolia, the attempts to penetrate into Central Asia, the search for routes to India, and the relations with Persia and Turkey — all this directly influenced the study of the East in Russia.

Among the first members of the Academy of Sciences (founded in 1725) was the Orientalist S. Bayer (1694—1738) ⁶. From the beginning of the XIX century, after the promulgation of the First University Statutes (1804), according to which chairs of Oriental languages were set up in the Moscow, Kazan, Kharkov and St. Petersburg (in 1819) universities, after the establishment of the Asiatic Museum (1818) and especially after the opening of the Oriental

Languages Faculty at the St. Petersburg University (1854—1855) Russian Oriental studies began to develop very rapidly. In the last quarter of the XIX century it was already generally recognized and played a leading role in European Orientology (in its basic branches) ⁷.

2

Orientalology came into being — both in Western Europe and Russia — as a comprehensive science; in the course of its gradual accumulation of knowledge, a number of separate branches came into being. In the first half of the last century Russian Orientalology was concerned with the study of «Oriental letters and antiquities», i. e. literature, history and languages of the peoples of the East. All Orientalists, irrespective of their personal inclinations and particular speciality were, as a rule, philologists by their methods and ways of research. The specific character of the material of study gave rise to a peculiar type of scholar an Orientalist-philologist, a universal Orientalist who studied all manifestations of the spiritual and material culture of the peoples of the East as objects of research (Fraehn, Bichurin, Senkovsky, Dorn). This type of scholar in a more or less representative form, existed in certain branches of Orientalology till the beginning of the XX century, although as early as in the middle of the XIX century a new independent branch began to develop, namely the Oriental linguistics, the most brilliant exponents of which were: O. Böhtlingk, M. A. Castrén, A. Schiefner, A. A. Bobrovnikov, C. A. Kossovich, W. Radloff, C. Salemann, P. M. Melyoransky.

The universal Orientalists, among whom were such scholars of the second half of the XIX century as V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov, M. I. Brosset, V. P. Vasilyev, I. P. Minayev, V. R. Rosen and others, were engaged in the study of the literature, civil history, history of culture, and history of religions of the peoples of the East, as well as in the investigation of the Oriental sources on Russian history which had been started by Fraehn. It must be pointed out that particularly great accomplishments were attained by Russian Orientalology in the study of Buddhism and Islam.

The Russian Buddhological school, which has won general recognition, was founded by V. P. Vasilyev and his di-

disciple I. P. Minayev; it was advanced by Minayev's followers S. F. Oldenburg, and F. I. Stcherbatskoy, as well as by B. Y. Vladimirtsov, O. O. Rosenberg, and V. M. Alekseyev.

A prominent place in the study of Islam belongs to the works by B. Dorn, A. K. Kazem-Bek, V. F. Girgas, V. R. Rosen, G. S. Sablukov, V. A. Zhukovsky, A. G. Tumansky, N. E. Tornau, A. E. Krymsky, V. V. Barthold, A. E. Schmidt, I. Y. Krachkovsky, A. A. Semyonov and their followers⁸.

The separation of the history of the East into an independent branch took place in 1863, when for the first time in the history of world Orientalology a Chair of the History of the East was set up at the Oriental Languages Faculty of the St. Petersburg University; this chair was headed by V. V. Grigoryev (1816—1881). Its establishment laid the foundation of the Russian school of history of the countries of the East which was represented by V. V. Grigoryev, I. N. Berezin, V. G. Tiesenhausen, V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov, N. I. Veselovsky, V. V. Barthold, A. Y. Yakubovsky, A. A. Semyonov, and other outstanding historians-Orientalists.

A further differentiation of Russian Orientalology took place in the late XIX—early XX century when the study of the history of Oriental peoples included, along with written sources of the past, also specimens of material culture obtained as a result of archeological explorations (N. I. Veselovsky, S. F. Oldenburg, N. Y. Marr, I. A. Orbeli); the study of Oriental literatures also manifested a marked progress (V. R. Rosen, S. F. Oldenburg, V. D. Smirnov, V. A. Zhukovsky, I. Y. Krachkovsky, and others). Oriental art found its brilliant student in the person of S. F. Oldenburg.

Summarizing the results of the progress of Russian Oriental studies in the last century, V. V. Barthold came to the following conclusion: «In the XIX century Oriental studies made in Russia perhaps even more considerable progress than in Western Europe»⁹.

In the pre-revolutionary period of their progress Russian Oriental studies developed such new branches as Caucasian studies, Mongolian studies, and Turkology; it made a marked contribution to the development of Arabic, Iranian, Chinese, Indian, Semitic, and Ethiopian philology and attained considerable successes in the field of Egyptology and Assyriology. However, in the interests of science, we must not pass over in silence the shortcomings from which Russian orientology suffered in the pre-revolutionary period. These

shortcomings, just as the accomplishments, must be thoroughly studied and explained in research works on the history of Russian Oriental studies.

3

A very close attention must be paid to the history of the educational and research institutions of Oriental studies, as well as to the scientific societies and associations of Orientalists which existed in Russia prior to the October Revolution.

It is known that the first educational establishment of Oriental studies in Russia was the School of the Mongolian Language opened at the Irkutsk Voznesensky Monastery (1725) ¹⁰. Somewhat later, special schools for studying the Japanese language (1736) ¹¹ and the Chinese and Manchurian languages (1741) were set up in Petersburg at the Academy of Sciences ¹².

In the second half of the XVIII century the study of the Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Tatar languages was included in the curricula of some schools of general education: in Astrakhan—in 1764, and in Kazan—in 1769 ¹³.

In the period from 1790 to 1794 the Chinese and Manchurian languages were taught at the Irkutsk Civil College ¹⁴. In 1789—1836 the Manchurian and Tatar languages were taught also at the Omsk Asian Training School for Translators for the Frontier Department of the Siberian Line ¹⁵.

In 1783 the study of the Tatar, Mordvinian, Chuvash and Cheremiss languages was introduced at the Theological Seminary of Nizhni-Novgorod; in the same year the study of the Tatar language began in the Tobolsk Theological Seminary. In the end of the XVIII century the Tatar language was introduced at the Tobolsk Central People's School; it was taught by Joseph Giganov, author of the first text-book on Tatar grammar (St. Petersburg, 1801) ¹⁶.

Hebrew was the first Semitic language taught in Russia; it was studied at the Kiev Theological Academy (since 1738), Moscow Slayonic, Greek and Latin Academy (since 1743), and at the seminary of the Troitsk Monastery (since 1744) ¹⁷.

The teaching of Oriental languages made still greater progress in the beginning of the XIX century, after the promulgation in 1804 of the above-mentioned University statutes. In the first half of the last century the secondary schools of Astrakhan, Novochoerkassk, Omsk, Nerchinsk, Ir-

kutsk, Kyakhta, as well of Transcaucasia, and the Crimea, introduced the study of those Oriental languages and dialects which were necessary for the communication of the Russians with the local inhabitants, namely, the Tatar, Mongolian, Kalmyk, Chinese, Lezghino-Avar, Armenian and Georgian languages¹⁸.

The work of Orientalists at the Kazan University (founded in 1805) was described in a series of historical papers¹⁹, as well as in the well-known works of Bulich, Zagoskin, Korbut, Naguyevsky written on the occasion of the anniversary dates in the history of the Kazan University.

As to the study of the history of Orientalism at the Moscow University, the situation is somewhat worse; even A. V. Boldyrev (1780—1842), the founder of the chair of Oriental languages, (1811) has as yet not found his biographer among Orientalists²⁰.

The University of Kharkov in the year of its foundation (1805) set up a chair of Oriental languages under Barendt where later B. A. Dorn (1829—1836) taught; after he had left for St. Petersburg the chair ceased to exist²¹.

The history of development of Oriental studies at the Leningrad University prior to the October Revolution was set forth in volumes I, II and IV²² of the «Materialy dlya istorii F. V. Ya.» (Materials for the history of the Oriental Languages Faculty), as well as in the well-known works by V. V. Grigoryev, N. I. Veselovsky, V. V. Barthold, and I. Y. Krachkovsky.

In 1823 another educational establishment of Oriental studies was opened in St. Petersburg; it was the Educational Division of Oriental Languages (or Oriental Institute) at the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs²³, where Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages were taught. The history of this educational establishment has not yet been written.

Still earlier, in 1815, an educational institution for Armenian children was founded in Moscow with funds donated by the Armenian family of the Lazarevs; in 1828 it was transformed into the Armenian Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages. From 1872 this Institute included Special Classes with the following chairs: 1) Armenian literature; 2) Arabic literature; 3) Persian literature; 4) The Turko-Tatar language; 5) History of the East; 6) Russian literature; 7) The Georgian language²⁴.

Of definite interest to historians of Russian Oriental studies is the history of teaching the languages of the Near-East in Odessa (which began in 1828 at the Oriental Institute of the Richelieu Lyceum, 1837—1884).

The political situation in the Far East in the end of the last century compelled unabated attention; the demand for persons who knew the languages of the Far Eastern countries became very strong at that time. In 1899 an Oriental Institute with a four-year training period was opened in Vladivostok; in 1920 it was reorganized into the Oriental Faculty of the Far-Eastern State University which ceased to function in 1937. The Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Mongolian, and Manchurian languages were taught at the Institute and Faculty²⁵. The history of this educational establishment has not yet been written, although the Central State Far-Eastern Archives (in Tomsk) possess all the necessary materials.

To complete the picture, it is important to get an idea of the activity of the Tashkent School of Oriental Languages for Officers at the Headquarters of the Tashkent Military Area (founded in 1897)²⁶, as well as of the teaching of Oriental languages at the Moscow Commercial Institute²⁷, and other educational institutions.

The first research institution of Oriental studies in Russia before the October Revolution was the Asiatic Museum, whose history has not yet been written. An outstanding place in the history of Russian Orientalology is occupied by the Curiosity Chamber, now the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Institute of Ethnography of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences²⁸.

The Oriental Division of the Russian Archeological Society which played an important role in the history of Russian Oriental studies²⁹ was the first scientific society of Orientalists.

In 1887 an Oriental Commission was set up at the Moscow Archeological Society; it united all Moscow Orientalists³⁰.

In 1882 the Palestine Society was organized; N. Y. Marr, P. K. Kokovtsev, I. Y. Krachkovsky, and others took an active part in its work. In 1894 the Russian Archeological Institute in Constantinople was founded (closed in 1915); it directed the Russian scholars study of the history and archeology of Greece and the Near East.

A considerable contribution to Russian sinology was made by the staff of the Peking Theological Mission (the Russian Theological Mission in Peking)³¹ which included such brilliant sinologists and experts on China as I. Rassokhin, N. G. Bichurin, V. P. Vasilyev, and others³².

The members of the Altai Theological Mission (founded in 1856)³³ pioneered in the ethnographic and linguistic study of Altai.

The merits of Russian Orientalology won international recognition which was expressed in the following resolution of the XII International Congress of Orientalists (Rome, 1899): to deem it «expedient to form an international association for the study of Central and East Asia, with the Russian Committee sitting in St. Petersburg, as its Central Committee»³⁴.

The XIII Congress of Orientalists (Hamburg, 1902) adopted the Constitution of the Association drafted by S. F. Oldenburg and W. Radloff. The Russian Committee for the Historical, Archeological, Linguistic and Ethnographic Study of Central and East Asia which existed till 1919 played an essential role in the study of Central and East Asia. The Committee published a journal which appeared in the Russian and French languages.

An important place in the study of Central Asia and Kazakhstan belonged to the Turkestan Circle of Lovers of Archeology (1895—1917); the monograph of B. V. Lunin «Iz istorii russkogo vostokovedeniya i arkheologii v Turkestan» («From the History of Russian Orientalology and Archeology in Turkestan», Tashkent, 1958) deals with the activities of this Circle.

It is also necessary to mention the branch of the Turkestan Circle—the Trans-Caspian Circle of Lovers of the Archeology and History of the East in Ashkhabad (founded in 1899); in 1914 this Circle resumed its activities³⁵.

The Kazan Society of Archeology, History and Ethnography is still awaiting its historian.

The growing political and economic relations of Russia with the countries of the East necessitated special training of a considerable number of personnel to be employed in the East. In this connection, the Imperial Society of Oriental studies was set up in St. Petersburg in 1900; its aim consisted «exclusively in the practical study of the contemporary East»³⁶. This society had two branches — the Amur branch

(in Khabarovsk) which published «Zapiski priamurskogo otdeleniya» («The Transactions of the Amur Branch»), and the Tashkent branch (Tashkent) whose publication was «Izvestiya Tashkentskogo otdeleniya» («The Proceedings of the Tashkent Branch»).

In 1901 the Society of Oriental Studies opened Courses of Oriental Languages; in 1906 they were reorganized into Courses of Oriental Studies which, in their turn, were transformed into the Practical Oriental Academy (where studies began on January 12, 1910)³⁷. The Academy comprised the following classes: Japanese, Chinese, Mongolian, Persian, Balkan, and the following departments: Military, Commercial, Consular, and Outlying Regions Administration. The duration of studies at the Academy was 3 years³⁸.

In 1910 the Society of Russian Orientalists was established in St. Petersburg; its aim was to unite all «individual Orientalists into a single friendly family».³⁹

The Society of Oriental Studies and the Society of Russian Orientalists ceased to exist in 1918, without leaving any appreciable trace in the history of Russian Oriental studies.

The history of the research institutions of Oriental studies, educational establishments, associations and societies must become the subject of monographic study; special attention should be paid to the subject-matter of research, to the plans and programmes of the teaching of languages, to the history and literature of the peoples of the East as well as to the aims and tasks of scientific associations and societies.

4

The first scientific publication in Russian aimed at acquainting the readers with the activities of the Academy of Sciences was «Kratkoye opisaniye kommentariyev Akademii Nauk. Chast I za 1726 god» («A Brief Description of the Commentary of the Academy of Sciences, part one, the year 1726»), St. Petersburg, 1728; three works by the Orientalist Bauer⁴⁰ were published in it.

This publication was conceived as a periodical, but was discontinued after the appearance of volume I and replaced by a new publication — the «Mesyachnie istoricheskie, genealogicheskie i geograficheskie primechania v Vedomosty-

«Zakh» («Monthly historical, genealogical, and geographical notes in the 'Gazette'» 1728—1742), which was a supplement to the newspaper «Sankt-Petersburgskiy Vedomosti» («The Saint-Petersburg Gazette», 1728—1917) published by the Academy of Sciences (up to 1875; after that it was published by the Ministry of Public Education).

The «Notes» soon turned into a popular-scientific magazine which covered a wide range of subjects; it also published a number of articles devoted to the East, for example, «Istoria Khiny, ili kitaiskaya» («The History of China», 1731, parts 13—18) ⁴¹.

The «Sankt-Petersburgskie Vedomosti» (published by the Academy of Sciences in Russian and German) devoted much attention to the countries of the East ⁴².

Among valuable sources of information relating to the history and economy of individual regions of Russia, especially of its Eastern outlying regions, as well as of the neighbouring countries of the East, were: the scientific and literary cyclopaedic magazine «Yezhemesyachniye sochineniya k polze i uveseleniyu sluzhashchiye» («Monthly Works for Public Benefit and Entertainment», St. Petersburg, 1755—1764) published by the Academy of Sciences; «Sochineniya i perevody k polze in uveseleniyu sluzhashchiye» («Works and Translations for Public Benefit and Entertainment», first published in 1758); and «Yezhemesyachnye sochineniya i izvestiya o uchonykh delakh» («Monthly Works and News Concerning Scientific Affairs», 1763—1764); the latter magazine had three sections: Historical, Literary, and Bibliographical ⁴³.

The number of Orientological periodicals published in Russia prior to the October Revolution was not great (the first of these periodicals was the «Archiv für Asiatische Literatur, Geschichte und Sprachkunde. Verfasst von Jolins von Klaproth, Erster Band. Herausgegeben auf Befehl der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften». St.-P., 1810, 224 S.).

The magazine «Sibirsky Vestnik» («Siberian Herald», St. Petersburg, 1818—1824) published by G. I. Spassky (1784—1864) ⁴⁴ did much to popularize knowledge in the field of Orientology. In 1825 this magazine was transformed into the «Aziatsky Vestnik» («Asian Herald», St. Petersburg, 1825—1827) which was the first popular-scientific magazine of Orientology. In 1872 a magazine of the same name

(one volume) was published by the famous Orientalist and traveller P. I. Pashino⁴⁵.

Consolidation of the position of Oriental studies in the Academy of Sciences necessitated the publication of a special journal dealing with problems of Orientology. The first issue of the academic Orientological magazine «Mélanges Asiatique» appeared in 1882 (the last, tenth issue was published in 1894); its publication was resumed in 1918, when it appeared under two titles — the previous French title and a new, Russian one «Aziatsky Sbornik» («Asian Collected Articles», only two issues of this magazine were published — for the years 1918 and 1919). The 1918 issue contained «Spisok statei po vostokovedeniu, napechatannykh v Izvestiakh Akademii za vremia 1895—1917 gg. («A List of Articles on Orientology Published in the Transactions of the Academy During the 1895—1917 Period», 258 issues)⁴⁶.

An appreciable part in the development of Russian Orientology and in uniting Orientalists was played by the publication of the Oriental Division of the Russian Archeological Society — «Zapiski» («Notes») which appeared in the period between 1886 and 1921; altogether 25 volumes were published (each consisting of 4 issues). In Moscow the same role was played by the journal of the Oriental Commission of the Moscow Archeological Society «Drevnosti Vostochnye» («Oriental Antiquities», 5 volumes; 1896—1915).

Orientalists took an active part (both as authors and editors) in the publication of two journals of the Russian Geographical Society: «Zapiski Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva po otdeleniu etnografii» («Notes of the Russian Geographical Society — Ethnographic Division», St. Petersburg, 1867—1916; 43 volumes) and «Zhivaya Starina» («Living Antiquity», a quarterly; 1890—1916).

The Asian Museum published a special journal which contained information concerning all new acquisitions of the Museum and all the new additions to its funds («Musei Asiatici Petropolitani Notitiae». Curante C. Saleman).

Among magazines devoted to special branches of Oriental studies the following should be mentioned: «Khristianski Vostok» («The Christian Orient», St. Petersburg, 1912; 6 volumes); «Mir Islama» («The World of Islam», St. Petersburg, journal of the Society of Oriental studies edited by V. V. Barthold); articles on the history and philology of the Near East were published (and are published) in the maga-

zine «Vizantiiski Vremennik» («Byzantine Annals», St. Petersburg — Leningrad, 1894—1928; its publication was resumed in Moscow in 1947 by the Institute of History of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences) and in the «Palestinski Sbornik» («Palestine Collected Articles»).

A considerable number of articles on Orientology, especially before the publication of the «Notes» of the Oriental Division of the Russian Archeological Society (1886), appeared in the «Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshchenia» («Journal of the Ministry of Public Education») published in St. Petersburg in the period from 1834 to 1917.

The Tashkent newspaper «Turkestanskiye Vedomosti» («Turkestan Gazette», 1870—1917) ⁴⁷ published many valuable data on the history and archeology of Central Asia.

Important information relating to the history of Russian Orientology in Turkestan was provided by the «Protokoly zasedanii i soobshchenii chlenov Turkestanskogo kruzhka lyubitelei arkheologii» («Records of Proceedings and Communication of the Members of the Turkestan Circle of Lovers of Archeology», 1895—1917; 21 issues) ⁴⁸.

There is no need to enumerate here all Orientological magazines which were published in the pre-revolutionary period of the development of Russian Oriental studies. We have mentioned the most important magazines with the only aim to draw the attention of the historians of Orientology to them. Unfortunately, up to the present time we have no «Bibliography of Orientological Periodicals», to say nothing of an essay on the history of the Russian periodical literature on Oriental studies.

5

The Great October Socialist Revolution has ushered in a new era in the history of mankind; it has enriched science with new ideas, and set new tasks before the Oriental studies. New institutions of Oriental studies have been established with the aim to cope with these new tasks.

An important role in the organization and guidance of practical activity in various spheres of Oriental studies was played by the People's Commissariat for the Affairs of Nationalities, as well as by the Central Moslem (later the Tataro-Bashkir) Commissariat subordinated to it ⁴⁹.

In 1918 Oriental Institutes were organized in Tashkent

and Kiev ⁵⁰; a secondary school of Oriental studies was opened in Kharkov; the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages was reorganized. In 1920 institutes of living Oriental languages were organized in Petrograd (subsequently it was named the Leningrad Institute of Living Oriental Languages, and in 1928 reorganized into the Leningrad Oriental Institute which in 1938 merged with the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies) and in Moscow (subsequently, it was reorganized into the Moscow College of Oriental Studies; in 1954 it was included into the Moscow State Institute of International Relations as its Oriental Faculty). In 1921 the All-Russian (subsequently — All-Union) Scientific Association of Oriental Studies was set up by a special decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee; in the same year the Communist University of Working People of the East (KUTV) was opened in Moscow.

Simultaneously, the All-Ukrainian Scientific Association of Oriental Studies was organized in Kharkov with sections in Kiev and Odessa and branches in Central Asia, Transcaucasia, and the Far East ⁵¹.

In May 1919 an Oriental Division ⁵² was founded at the North-Eastern Archeological and Ethnographical Institute in Kazan (which had been opened on October 4, 1917).

In the autumn of 1919 the Social Sciences Faculty was set up at the First Petrograd University on the basis of the Oriental, Historico-Philological and Law Faculties of the University, Archeological and Historico-Philological Institutes and corresponding faculties of the Bestuzhev Higher Women's Courses ⁵³.

New educational and research institutions connected with Oriental studies, as well as a number of scientific associations and circles arose in Leningrad: the Radloff Circle (1918—1930); the Collegium of Orientalists (1921—1930); the Turkological Centre (1928—1930); the Veselovsky Research Institute of Comparative History of the Languages and Literature of the West and the East at the Petrograd University (founded in 1921); the Institute of Buddhist Culture (1928—1930), and others ⁵⁴. Associations of Arabists, Turkologists and other Orientalists were formed at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences in 1934.

Of great importance in the progress of our culture during the first years after the Revolution was the activity of

the Oriental Collegium set up at the Vsemirnaya Literatura (World Literature) Publishing House (1919—1924) ⁵⁵.

The implementation of the Leninist national policy in the Soviet East exerted direct influence on the development of Soviet Oriental studies. Thus, in the twenties a number of research institutes of Oriental studies were organized in the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, Daghestan, Transcaucasia, the Volga Region, Central Asia, and Siberia.

The creation of new written languages was one of the major problems of the cultural revolution in the Soviet East. It had two aspects: on the one hand, it was necessary to create written languages for those nationalities which previously had no alphabets of their own; on the other hand, it was necessary to replace some old graphical systems and, above all, the Arabic alphabet, by new ones.

In the twenties Soviet scientists did a considerable amount of work elaborating phonological, graphic, polygraphic and orthographic principles for the new alphabets.

A number of highly important scientific problems had to be solved in the course of the creation and reformation of written languages; it was necessary to establish a dialect basis for every given language, to create, determine and systematize the social, political, scientific and technical terminology, to make a study of the phonetics, grammar structure and vocabulary of a number of languages which previously had been insufficiently studied or not studied at all.

The establishment of the All-Union Central Committee of New Alphabets at the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. (founded in 1926) was an important organizational measure which played a positive role in the general cultural progress of previously backward peoples.

The above-mentioned Committee was engaged, along with the problems of alphabets, in solving questions connected with the elaboration of orthography and terminology, as well as the creation of grammar text-books and dictionaries. On the initiative of the Committee a number of local Committees of New Alphabets, and of Terminological Commissions were set up in the country. The Committee published two magazines «Kultura i pismennost Vostoka» («Culture and Written Languages of the East», Baku, 1927—30, and Moscow, 1931) and «Revolutsia i pismennost» (The «Revolution and Written Languages», Moscow, 1928—1936)

which popularized the ideas involved in the elaboration of new alphabets.

Soviet sinologists-members of the Commission on the Latinization of the Chinese Written Language, were successfully working at practical problems of the replacement of hieroglyphs by the Latin alphabet (see «Zapiski Instituta vostokovedenia» («Transactions of the Institute of Oriental Studies», 1932, vol. I, pp. 35—54).

Higher educational establishments were opened in the national Republics and Regions. The Turkestan People's University⁵⁶ was inaugurated in Tashkent on April 21, 1918, at the height of the Civil War. On September 7, 1920 V. I. Lenin signed the decree establishing the Turkestan State University in Tashkent; in 1923 it had been reorganized into the Central Asian State University⁵⁷ which was subsequently named after V. I. Lenin.

In the twenties the following educational establishments were instituted: the Oriental Faculty of the Azerbaijan State University, the Kazan Oriental Teachers' College with the department of the Tatar language and culture, the Crimean State University, and some others.

The Far-Eastern State University was opened in Vladivostok; its Oriental Faculty was get up on the basis of the Oriental Institute (founded in 1899).

The list of educational establishments opened after the October Revolution and bearing a direct relation to Orientology (its educational and research aspects) could be easily extended.

In the first years of the Soviet power multipurpose research institutes connected with the study of the languages, literature, economy and natural resources of Transcaucasia and the adjacent countries, were founded in Armenia and Azerbaijan⁵⁸.

In 1920, the Committee on the Study of the Languages and Ethnic Cultures of the North Caucasus was set up. Every year this Committee organized scientific expeditions with the aim to collect material relating to archeology, folk-lore, mode of life, architecture, languages, ethnology, and handicrafts.

The number of scholars was rapidly growing, and this necessitated the organization of scientific societies and associations.

Many such scientific Orientological societies were set up

in the twenties. Among them were: The Scientific Society of Tatar studies (Kazan, 1923) ⁵⁹, The Society for the Exploration and Study of Azerbaijan (Baku), The Society for the Study of Tajikistan and of Iranian Nationalities Beyond Its Borders, The Society for the Study of Kazakhstan, The Society for the Study of the Manchurian Region (Khabarovsk), The Society for the Study of Tatarstan (Kazan, 1930), The Society for the Study of Bashkiria (Ufa), and others.

All these societies published the results of their research work in special journals («Transactions», «Materials», «Papers») and left an appreciable trace in the study of the languages, history archeology and literature of the corresponding peoples.

The following magazines appeared in the twenties and thirties: «Vostok» («The Orient»), «Novy Vostok» («The New Orient»), «Revolutsionny Vostok» («The Revolutionary Orient»), «Zhizn Natsionalnostei» («The Life of Nationalities»), «Agrarnye Problemy» («Agrarian Problems»), «Problemy Kitaya» («The Problems of China»), «Tikhii Okean» («The Pacific»), «Kommunisticheski Internatsional» («The Communist International») and some other periodicals; all these magazines published works by Soviet Orientalists.

By the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties scientific committees, bases and branch establishments of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and research institutes were organized in all the Union and Autonomous Republics, as well as in all Autonomous Regions of the Soviet East.

Eight branches of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences functioned before the Great Patriotic War in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and in the Urals; in 1941 the Georgian branch was reorganized into the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian S.S.R. ⁶⁰

During and after the war all the afore-mentioned branches (except that in the Urals) were reorganized into Academies of Sciences of the corresponding republics; in those national republics and regions where such academies have not yet been organized, branches of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and national research institutes were set up.

In 1929 the adoption of the first Five-Year Plan opened a new ere in the life of the U.S.S.R and radical changes took place in the U.S.S.R. Academy of Science — in its structure, plans of research and general trends of work.

As a result of the reorganization of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, some of its establishments, which did not meet the new requirements, were closed down, and a number of others were merged: for example, in 1930 the Institute of Oriental Studies of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences⁶¹ was organized on the basis of four previously existing institutions — the Asiatic Museum, the Institute of Buddhist Culture, the Turkological Centre, and the Collegium of Orientalists.

In the beginning of the thirties the following Leningrad institutions were concerned with problems of Oriental studies: the Institute of Oriental Studies; the Institute of Language and Thought; the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography; the Institute of Ethnography (founded in 1937)⁶²; the State Academy of the History of Material Culture which was included into the system of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences in 1936 and reorganized into the Institute of the History of Material Culture; the State Hermitage (Oriental Department); the Leningrad Oriental Institute, and the Leningrad University.

The solicitude of the Soviet Government for a profound study of the culture of the peoples of the East prompted the decision to open in Moscow the Research Institute of Ethnic and National Culture of the Peoples of the East (1926); in 1928 it was reorganized into the Research Institute of the Nationalities of the U.S.S.R.⁶³

Attaching great importance to the study of the languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., the Soviet Government established the Central Institute of Spoken and Written Language on the basis of the All-Union Central Committee of New Alphabets; in 1938 it merged with the Institute of Language and Thought as its Moscow branch⁶⁴.

Oriental studies in the broad sense of the term include also the study of the countries and peoples of the Pacific Ocean basin. Already before the Great Patriotic War the Pacific Centre had been set up in the Institute of World Economy and World Policy; in 1942 it was reorganized into the Pacific Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, which in 1950 merged with the Institute of Oriental Studies of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

A considerable amount of fruitful work is now being done in the U.S.S.R. in various spheres of Oriental studies. In recent years research has covered a number of such countries

and peoples which were never before the object of any special study; this relates, above all, to the study of the languages, history, literature, and economy of the countries and peoples of South-East Asia and Indonesia. This new field of Oriental studies is now successfully elaborated by the corresponding departments of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Oriental Faculty of the Leningrad State University and the Institute of Oriental Languages at the Moscow State University.

In recent years marked progress has been made also in one of the most important fields of Oriental studies — African studies.

The following institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences are now engaged in various problems of Oriental studies: the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Institute of Chinese Studies, the Institute of Ethnography, the Institute of the History of Material Culture, the Institute of Linguistics, the Institute of Africa (founded on October 2, 1959), as well as the Oriental Department of the State Hermitage (Leningrad).

One of the distinctive features of the development of Soviet Oriental studies is the fact that the history, languages, history of culture and present-day conditions of the republics, regions and peoples of the Soviet East are studied in these republics and regions themselves and by representatives of these peoples. Academies of Sciences have been founded in Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tadzhikistan, and Uzbekistan; special institutes studying the languages, history, ethnography, and literature of the peoples of these republics have been opened at their Academies.

In this connection, it has become a pressing task to write a series of monographs on the history of Oriental studies in the republics of the Soviet East.

Oriental languages, history, geography, economy, literature and other subjects connected with the study of the East are taught at the universities of Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, Baku, Tbilisi, Yerevan, Kazan, and in some other educational institutions.

There is no need to dwell here on the importance of studying the history of Orientological periodicals published in the Soviet period; such literature has been published in

Leningrad, Moscow, and in the republics of the Soviet East but it still awaits its students and bibliographer.

Among characteristic features of Soviet Oriental studies we find not only the creation of new organizational forms for Oriental research and for training specialists, but, what is of paramount importance, a new, scientific content, a new approach to the object of research, new methodological principles, as well as new political content and a new ideological basis.

S. F. Oldenburg wrote: «We do not recognize any division of peoples and countries into East and West that are opposed to each other and that are to be studied in different ways: the East and the West entered our Union on the same principle of equality of rights, and in our study of the East we apply the same Marxist methodology as in the study of the West. Class struggle was developing and is still taking place both in the East and in the West. The history of the East manifested the same formations as the history of the West»⁶⁵.

The accomplishments of Soviet Oriental studies are quite evident: having overcome many difficulties peculiar to the period of growth, it has covered in a comparatively short period of time — in forty-two years — a tremendous path of development. New branches of Oriental studies have arisen and taken shape. Actually, there has appeared new Oriental linguistics which differs from the old linguistics in the methods applied in the scope of research and in the range of the material studied. Dozens of grammars, dictionaries and other manuals necessary of the study of Oriental languages have been compiled. Historians have carried out extensive and fruitful work in the study of problems relating to the social and economic history of the countries and peoples of the East, to the history of great popular movements in the Oriental countries, as well as to the modern and contemporary history of the Asian and African countries. All these problems were not tackled by the pre-revolutionary Orientology almost at all. Research into the economic history of the Asian and African countries is the exclusive merit of Soviet Oriental studies.

Owing to the efforts of Soviet scholars, the study of the history of Oriental literature has become an independent branch of Orientology. Still greater accomplishments have been attained by Soviet ethnographers and archeologists.

thanks to their creative efforts, these old branches have turned into independent fields of science⁶⁶.

We do not intend to give here a detailed exposition of all the achievements of Soviet Oriental studies and to enumerate all the educational and research establishments of Oriental studies set up after the October Revolution; we have presented the above-mentioned data relating to the history of numerous centres of Oriental studies in our country with the only aim to reveal the considerable organizational, research and teaching activities of Soviet Orientalists.

6

The first attempts to describe the work of Russian Orientalists, as well as to summarize some of its, then very moderate, results date as far back as the thirties and forties of the XIX century. It is true that fragmentary information concerning Oriental studies can be found even in some earlier sources; in this connection, the book by Fr. Adelung devoted to the development of comparative linguistics in Russia in the XVIII century⁶⁷ must be mentioned first.

Academician B. A. Dorn (1805—1881) made the first attempt to summarize the results obtained by Russian Orientalology and to outline the prospects of its development in a speech delivered at the annual meeting of the Academy of Sciences on December 29, 1839 and entitled «Concerning the Great Significance and Outstanding Achievements of Oriental Studies in Russia»⁶⁸. It is owing to him that Russian Orientalology possesses an outline of the history of the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences⁶⁹.

Among the first historiographers of Russian Orientalology were V. V. Grigoryev (1816—1881) and P. S. Savelyev (1814—1859) graduates of the Oriental Department of the Philological Faculty of the St. Petersburg University, whose works in the field of Orientalology are often considered as primary sources. In them these scholars gave a vivid, profound and witty portrayal of quite a number of Orientalists, and they constitute a valuable contribution to the major courses and manuals on the history of Russian Oriental studies.

V. V. Grigoryev wrote a monograph about his friend and fellow-student P. S. Savelyev⁷⁰. The biography of Savelyev was stated by him against the background of the history of development of Orientalology in the St. Petersburg of that time. In his turn, Savelyev wrote a brilliant essay on the life

and activity of the Orientalist and writer O. I. Senkovsky (1800—1858) ⁷¹.

The biography of V. V. Grigoryev was written by his pupil N. I. Veselovsky; the latter had collected and systematized a considerable amount of material about his teacher and predecessor at the Chair of Oriental History at the Oriental Languages Faculty of the St. Petersburg University ⁷².

Saveliev also left brilliant life-stories of a number of other Orientalists; Frähn, Banzarov, Dittel, Korkunov, Vasyfendy Silvestre de Sasy, Sheikh M. Tantavi, Charmoi, Jauber, and Schoegren. Three of his articles published in the «Russky Vestnik» («Russian Herald») for 1856 under the common title of «Vostochnye literatury i russkie orientalisty» («Oriental Literatures and Russian Orientalists») gave the readers an insight into the state of affairs and basic trends in the Russian Orientology of that time.

Important information relating to the history of Russian Orientology was included by Savelyev into his famous article «Predpolozhenia ob uchrezhdenii Vostochnoi Akademii v S.-Peterburge, 1733 i 1810 godov» («Considerations Concerning the Foundation of an Oriental Academy in St. Petersburg, years 1733 and 1810» ⁷³.

V. V. Grigoryev left a marked trace in the history of Russian culture by his «historical note»—«S.-Peterburgskii universitet v techenie pervykh pyatidesyati let yego sushchestvovaniia» («The St. Petersburg University in the First Fifty Years of Its Existence», St. Petersburg, 1870) which contains essential data relating to the history of Orientology in the St. Petersburg University. Of definite importance for the history of Russian Orientology is also his article «Istoricheskie i filologicheskie trudy russkikh orientalistov» («Historical and Philological Works of Russian Orientalists» ⁷⁴ published in the «Moskovski Nablyudatel» («Moscow Observer», 1835).

The fundamental work of S. K. Bulich ⁷⁵ «Ocherki istorii yazykoznania v Rossii» («Studies in the History of Linguistics in Russia») is of a very great value for the study of the initial stages of the history of Russian Orientology.

The first historian of Russian Orientology who made its history a special object of his study was N. I. Veselovsky (1849—1918) ⁷⁶ already mentioned above; along with a number of other works on the history of Orientology, he wrote a unique book: «Svedenia ob ofitsialnom prepodavanii vosto-

«chnykh yazykov v Rossii» («Information concerning Official Teaching of Eastern Languages in Russia») ⁷⁷; up to now this work has not been continued by any scholar.

The history of Russian Orientology occupied a prominent place in the scientific work of V. V. Barthold, I. Y. Krachkovsky and A. E. Krymsky.

V. V. Barthold not only wrote a number of interesting reviews concerning separate stages of the progress of Russian Orientology, but made a substantial contribution to the study of the history of Orientology by his two books: «Istoria izucheniya Vostoka v Yevrope i Rossii» («History of Oriental Studies in Europe and in Russia», second edition, Leningrad, 1925) and «Materialy dlya istorii fakulteta vostochnykh yazykov. Tom chetviorty. Obzor deyatel'nosti fakulteta 1855—1905. S prilozheniem obzora istorii vostokovedeniya v Rossii do 1855 goda» («Materials for the History of the Oriental Languages Faculty. Volume IV. Review of the Activity of the Faculty in the 1855—1905 Period. Supplemented by a Review of the History of Orientology in Russia Prior to 1855», St. Petersburg, 1909).

I. Y. Krachkovsky was mainly concerned with the history of Arabic studies in Russia: the activity of all Russian Arabists was elucidated in His book «Ocherki po istorii russkoi arabistiki» («Essays on the History of Russian Arabic Studies», Moscow—Leningrad, 1950) was the first and sole attempt to trace the long history of development of one of the oldest branches of Russian Oriental studies. His book «Nad arabskimi rukopisyami. Listki vospominanii o knigakh i lyudiakh» («Work at Arabic Manuscripts. Reminiscences of Books and People») which appeared in four editions, provides many valuable facts about a number of Orientalists.

Krachkovsky's book «Vvedenie v efiopskuyu filologiyu» («Introduction to Ethiopian Philology», Leningrad 1955), the result of his forty years' work, was an outstanding contribution to the history of the study of the Ethiopian language, the history and literature of Abyssinia.

In 1930 A. E. Krymsky published in Kiev a highly useful book in the Ukrainian language (unfortunately it was not subsequently continued by any scholar): «Turki, ih movi ta literaturi. I. Turkski movi. Vipusk II» («The Turks, Their Languages and Literatures. I. The Turki Languages. Part II»). Part I did not appear.

The name of S. F. Oldenburg, who was an outstanding obituarist, cannot be omitted even in a brief review of the work of Russian scholars in the field of the history of Russian Oriental studies; we owe him a brilliant portrayal of a number of Russian Orientalists and a series of reviews of the activities of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Research and organizational activity of Oldenburg himself has not yet been fully and comprehensively appraised ⁷⁸.

Many Orientalists of the past and present have left a trace in the study of the history of Russian and Soviet Oriental studies by their papers, articles, notes, obituaries. In a short review it is impossible to enumerate all scholars who work in this sphere of Soviet Oriental studies, especially since many of them will be mentioned later on.

The scientific activity of all outstanding Orientalists (with very few exceptions) has been described in a number of entries in biographical dictionaries and cyclopaedias, in obituaries, etc. However, in order to disclose fuller the role and place of Russian and Soviet Oriental studies in the history of our culture and in the history of world Oriental studies, to establish the range of problems studied by our Orientalology and the continuity of its research work; to summarize the results, to reveal the strong and weak points of the previous trends in Orientalology, etc., it is absolutely necessary to bring out monographs devoted to the work of a number of outstanding Russian and Soviet Orientalists. First of all they include C. D. Frähn, N. Y. Bichurin, B. A. Dorn, V. P. Vasilyev, A. A. Bobrovnikov, I. P. Minayev, V. R. Rosen, C. G. Saleman, V. F. Miller, W. Radloff, P. K. Uslar, F. E. Korsh, B. A. Turayev, V. D. Smirnov, V. V. Barthold, S. F. Oldenburg, A. N. Samoilovich, F. I. Scherbatsky, A. E. Krymsky, I. X. Krachkosky, V. M. Alekseyev, A. P. Barrannikov, A. Y. Uakubovsky, N. V. Kyuner, N. K. Dmitryev, S. E. Malov, E. E. Bertels, A. A. Semyonov.

The names of some Orientalists have been unjustly forgotten. Among them are: A. B. Boldyrev (1780—1842), A. A. Schiefner (1817—1879), I. Y. Schmidt (1773—1847), P. I. Desmaisons (1807—1873), G. S. Sablukov (1804—1880), V. G. Tisenhausen (1825—1902), V. V. Veliaminov-Zernov (1830—1904) and some others; all of them still await their biographers. The Orientalist and historian K. A. Inostrantsev (1876—1941) ⁷⁹, one of the pupils of V. R. Rosen, was not even honoured by a modest obituary.

Interest for the study of the history of Russian Oriental studies has markedly increased in recent years and has taken diverse forms; in particular, it is expressed in the study of the activities of scholars, in the appearance of essays on the history of the study of Oriental languages, and in the study of the political, economic and cultural relations between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the peoples of Asia and Africa. The diary of Afanasy Nikitin, a merchant from Tver who made a voyage beyond three seas in the period from 1466 to 1472 has long since aroused the interest of scholars; in 1958 a second supplemented and revised edition of «Afanasy Nikitin's Volage Beyond Three Seas. 1466—1472» prepared by the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences was published.

Indologists and the Soviet public in general display a keen interest in the activity of the first Russian indologist G. S. Lebedev (1749—1817), a musician and actor who lived in India for 12 years (1785—1797) ⁸⁰.

The work of many Russian sinologists has not as yet been fully and objectively appraised. Only the activities of the sinologist V. P. Vasilyev (1818—1900) ⁸¹ has been elucidated more or less comprehensively.

The personality of Illarion Rassokhin (1707—1761) ⁸² the first teacher of the Chinese and Manchurian languages at the Chinese School (founded in 1741) of the Academy of Sciences, has been also attracting the attention of historians since long.

Similarly, the scientific activity of the outstanding Russian sinologist N. Y. Bichurin (1777—1853) still awaits a thorough and allround study ⁸³.

The publication of a monograph devoted to the life and activity of A. I. Bogdanov (1692—1766), librarian at the Library of the Academy of Sciences, is a highly satisfactory fact. The work of Bogdanov had a direct bearing on the initial period of the history of Russian Orientology: e. g. the first school of the Japanese language in Russia functioned under his «supervision» ⁸⁴.

Along with Russian scholars, a number of scholars of other nationalities of Russia have greatly contributed to the development of Oriental studies in our country, especially after the October Revolution.

The personality and activity of the first Buriat scientist Dorzhi Banzarov (1882—1855) focused the attention of

scholars during many decades; the centenary of his death was marked by the appearance of a splendid «monument»—the publication of the book «Dorshi Banzarov. Sobranie sochineii» («Dorshi Banzarov. Collected Works»), U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Moscow 1955⁸⁵.

Fellow-countrymen honoured the memory of another scientist, N. F. Katanov, a Khakass by nationality (1862—1922), by the publication of a memorial volume «N. F. Katanov. Materialy i soobshchenia» («N. F. Katanov. Materials and Communications». Compiled by N. G. Domozhakov, Candidate of Philological Sciences, Abakan, 1958).

The Kazakh scientists have done a great deal to perpetuate the memory of their outstanding fellow-countryman Chokan Valikhanov.

It can be pointed out with satisfaction that the scientific and public activity of A. K. Kazem-Bek and M. F. Akhundov has been opportunely and quite exhaustively appraised.

The activity of a number of non-Russian scholars, such as L. Z. Budagov, K. P. Patkanov, D. I. Chubinov and Kayum Nasyri, has not yet been duly described.

V. G. Yegorov's work «N. I. Ashmarin kak issledovatel chuvashskogo yazyka. K 75-letiyu so dnya rozhdenia» («N. I. Ashmarin as a Student of the Chuvash Language. On the Occasion of his 75th Birthday», Cheboksary, 1948) deals with activities of the brilliant turkologist N. I. Ashmarin (1870—1933).

Finally, the scientific work of some of our Orientalists (S. F. Oldenburg, N. Y. Marr, I. Y. Krachkovsky, S. E. Malov, V. A. Gordlevsky, B. Y. Vladimirtsev) has been described in a series of memorial volumes.

In connection with the general progress of Soviet Oriental studies a marked growth of interest for the history of this branch of science is observed, which manifests itself, on the one hand, in the introduction into the curricula of a number of educational establishments of special courses of the history of the study of certain Orientological subjects and of the history of Orientology in our country in general, and on the other hand, in the publication of a series of monographs; among the latter the following can be mentioned: N. A. Smirnov's «Ocherki istorii izucheia islama v SSSR» («Essays on the History of the Study of Islam in the U.S.S.R.», Moscow, 1954); V. V. Lunin's «Iz istorii russkogo vostokevedenia i arkheologii v Turkestane. Turkestanski kruzhek liubitelei

arkheologii» («From the History of Russian Orientology and Archeology in Turkestan. The Turkestan Circle of Lovers of Archeology (1895—1917)», Tashkent, 1958). Useful information relating to the history of Russian Oriental studies can be found in the works by I. S. Vdovin «Istoria izucheniia paleoaziatskikh yazykov» («The History of the Study of Paleasiatic Languages», Moscow — Leningrad, 1954), and M. O. Kosven «Materialy po istorii etnograficheskogo izucheniia Kavkaza v russkoi nauke» («Materials on the History of the Ethnographic Study of the Caucasus in Russian Science») in «Kavkazski etnograficheski sbornik» («Caucasian Ethnographic Volume», part I, 1955, part II, 1958), as well as in the «Ocherki istorii russkoi etnografii, folkloristiki i antropologii» («Studies in the History of Russian Ethnography, Folk-lore and Anthropology, I, Moscow, 1956).

Abundant and useful information relating to the history of newly-created Oriental written languages is contained in the book by Y. D. Desheriev «Razvitie mladopismennykh yazykov narodov SSSR» («Development of Newly-created Written Languages of Peoples of the USSR», Moscow, 1958) and in the volume «Mlado-pismennye yazyki narodov SSSR» («Newly-created Written Languages of the Peoples of the USSR», Moscow — Leningrad, 1959).

The history of the study of separate Orientological branches is now being intensively, though unevenly, elaborated⁸⁶.

The Soviet Orientalists, like all the working people of the country, marked the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution by summarizing the results of their works: in this connection a new series of works devoted to various spheres of Oriental studies appeared in the USSR⁸⁷.

7

This brief review of the history and present state of our Oriental studies permits, in our opinion, to draw the conclusion that the study of the history of Orientology in our country must include the following fundamental problems.

1. Orientalists, their life and activity; teachers and pupils; schools and trends.
2. The history of development of Orientological subjects: linguistics, history of literature, historiography, ideologies

of the Orient, archaeology, ethnography, numismatics, epigraphy (according to individual countries and peoples).

3. Soviet Oriental studies as a new stage in the history of Russian Orientology.

4. The history of Oriental studies in the republics of the Soviet East.

5. Educational establishments of Oriental studies.

6. Research institutions of Oriental studies.

7. Societies, associations, commissions, circles, and other forms of association of Orientalists.

8. The history of periodical literature devoted to problems of Orientology.

The establishment of a special magazine (with a periodicity of at least 2 issues annually) dealing with various problems of the history of Orientology would greatly help to popularize and further to advance the history of Orientology in our country.

The study and popularization of the history of Oriental studies in our country is not only of scientific importance, it is also of great educational significance. When embarking on new paths of research, we must not forget of the way traversed by our Oriental studies in order not to disregard the achievements attained and to avoid the shortcomings and failures of the past.

¹ Д. А. Расовский, Печенеги, тюрки и берендеи на Руси и в Угрии, — «Seminarium Kondakovianum», т. VI, Прага, 1933, стр. 3; П. Голубовский, Печенеги, тюрки и половцы до нашествия татар, Киев, 1884, стр. 69; А. П. Смирнов, Волжские булгары, М., 1951, стр. 3; Б. Д. Греков, Киевская Русь, М., 1949, стр. 346—347; Б. Д. Греков, А. Ю. Якубовский, Золотая Орда и её падение, М.—Л., 1950, стр. 201; А. Ю. Якубовский, О русско-хазарских и русско-кавказских отношениях в IX—X вв., Изд. АН СССР, «Серия истории и философии», 1946, № 5, стр. 461—472; И. Срезневский, Следы древнего знакомства русских с южной Азией. Девятый век, — «Вестник Имп. Российского Географического общества», 1854, ч. 10, стр. 49—68; Б. Н. Заходер, Из истории волжско-каспийских связей древней Руси, — «Советское востоковедение», 1955, № 3, 108—118.

² М. Н. Сухомлинов, О языкознании в древней Руси, — «Учёные записки Второго отделения Академии наук», кн. 1, СПб, 1854, стр. 200 и сл.

³ С. А. Белокуров, О посольском приказе, М., 1906.

⁴ И. Ю. Крачковский, Очерки по истории русской арабиистики, М.—Л., 1950, стр. 13 и сл.; В. В. Бартольд, История изу-

чения Востока в Европе и России, Л., 1925, стр. 169 и сл.; Б. М. Данциг, Из истории русских путешествий и изучения Ближнего Востока в допетровской Руси, — «Очерки по истории русского востоковедения», М., 1953, стр. 184—231.

⁵ В. В. Бартольд, История изучения Востока в Европе и России, стр. 196 и след.; С. К. Булич, Очерк истории языкознания в России, т. 1 — XVIII в. — 1825 г.), СПб., 1904, стр. 184—190, 365—520; И. Ю. Крачковский, Очерки по истории русской арабистики, стр. 40 и сл.

⁶ И. Ю. Крачковский, Очерки ..., стр. 45—46; E. Babin-ger, Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer (1694—1738), Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Morgenländischen Studien in 18 Jahrhundert, München, 1915.

⁷ Concerning the basic stages of development of Russian Orientalology before the October Revolution see: С. К. Булич, Очерк..., стр. 190—203, 219—232, 365—520, 618—689; В. В. Бартольд, История изучения Востока в Европе и России, стр. 165—298; Н. И. Веселовский, Сведения об официальном преподавании восточных языков в России, СПб., 1879, 162 стр.

⁸ For details see Н. А. Смирнов, Очерки истории изучения ислама в СССР, М., 1954.

⁹ В. В. Бартольд, История изучения Востока в Европе и России, стр. 232.

¹⁰ С. К. Булич, Очерк ..., стр. 194—195.

¹¹ Ibid., стр. 384 и сл.; В. В. Бартольд, История изучения Востока, стр. 200; И. Н. Жобленец, Андрей Иванович Богданов, 1692—1766, М., 1958, стр. 22 и сл.

¹² С. К. Булич, Очерк ..., стр. 372 и сл.

¹³ И. Ю. Крачковский, Op. cit., стр. 51—52; А. Н. Кононов, Из истории отечественной тюркологии, — «Ученые записки Института востоковедения АН СССР», т. VI, 1953, стр. 269—273.

¹⁴ С. К. Булич, Очерки ..., стр. 382.

¹⁵ Ibid., стр. 382, 419.

¹⁶ Ibid., стр. 420.

¹⁷ Ibid., стр. 467 и сл.

¹⁸ П. С. Савельев, Восточные литературы и русские ориенталисты, — «Русский Вестник», т. 2, 1856, кн. II, стр. 132; М. А. Казем-бек, О появлении и успехах восточной словесности в Европе и упадке ее в Азии, — «Журнал Министерства народного просвещения», 1836, август, № VIII, стр. 15; Н. И. Веселовский, Сведения об официальном преподавании восточных языков в России, стр. 23 и сл.; В. И. Андреев, Из истории Троицкосавской войсково-русско-монгольской школы, — «Записки бурято-монгольского научно-исследовательского ин-та культуры», 1957, № 24, стр. 276—287.

¹⁹ See for example, А. С. Шофман, Г. Ф. Шамов, Восточный разряд Казанского университета, — «Очерки по истории русского востоковедения», Сб. 2, М., 1956, стр. 418—448.

²⁰ А. А. Стариков, Из истории восточной филологии в Московском Государственном университете, — «Советское востоковедение», 1955, № 6, стр. 81—88; И. Ю. Крачковский, Op. cit., стр. 79 и сл.

²¹ «Харьковский Государственный университет им. А. М. Горького за 150 лет», Харьков, 1955, 385 стр.; И. Ю. Крачковский, Op. cit., стр. 75.

²² The manuscript and composed matter of Volume III of «Материалы для истории ФВЯ», — «Биографический словарь окончивших курс Факультета восточных языков за полвека его существования» compiled by the Arabist N. A. Mednikov (1855—1918), secretary of the faculty (about him see И. Ю. Крачковский, Избранные сочинения, т. V, стр. 195—210), perished in 1918 (?) at M. M. Stasiulevich's Press on the Vasilevski Ostrov in Leningrad.

²³ See: «Материалы для истории факультета восточных языков», т. I, СПб., 1905, стр. 529—534.

²⁴ А. Хаханов, Очерк 30-летия Специальных классов Лазаревского института восточных языков, — Сб., «Тридцатилетие специальных классов Лазаревского института восточных языков. 1872—1902». Памятная книжка, М., 1903, стр. 1; Г. И. Кананов, «Семидесятилетие Лазаревского института восточных языков. 1815—1890, М., 1891, стр. 3; А. Зиновьев, Исторический очерк Лазаревского ин-та восточных языков, М., 1863; J. Thadäossian, Geschichte des Lazarefischen Instituts der orientalischen Sprachen zu Moskau. Handes Amsorya (Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie, Wien), t. LXII, 1948, S. 558—578, t. LXII, 1949, стр. 100—113. (in the Armenian language); Н. П. Базилянц, Лазаревский институт восточных языков (Исторический очерк), М., 1949, 55 стр.

²⁵ Н. В. Кюнер, Востоковедная высшая школа во Владивостоке. 1899—1924 (Доклад, прочитанный 7 декабря 1924 г. в Дальневосточном Государственном университете. Рукопись; Востоке (1922—1932), — «Вестник Дальневосточного отделения А. В. Маракуев, 10 лет востоковедения на советском Дальнем Востоке (1922—1932), — «Вестник Дальневосточного отделения АН СССР», Владивосток, 1932, № 1—2, стр. 33—42; С. С. Григорьевич, Из истории отечественного востоковедения (Владивостокский восточный институт в 1899—1916 гг.), — «Советское востоковедение», 1957, № 4, стр. 131—140.

²⁶ The school published «Вестник Ташкентской офицерской школы восточных языков при штабе Туркестанского военного округа», Ташкент, 1911 (editor I. D. Yagello; altogether two issues of the «Vestnik» and two issues of the supplement appeared) — «Краткая историческая справка о школе», — «Вестник Ташкентской офицерской школы», 1911, № 1, стр. 7—30.

²⁷ М. Е. Радовильский, Из истории преподавания персидского языка в России и Советском Союзе, — «Советское востоковедение», 1958, № 6, стр. 92.

²⁸ Т. В. Станюкович, Кунсткамера Петербургской Академии наук, М.—Л., 1953.

²⁹ Н. И. Веселовский, История Имп. Русского Археологического Общества за первое пятидесятилетие его существования. 1846—1896, СПб., 1900.

³⁰ Вл. Гордлевский, Тридцатипятилетие Восточной комиссии, — «Восток», кн. 4, М.—Л., 1924, стр. 169.

³¹ Actually founded in 1716. — В. В. Бартольд, История изучения Востока, стр. 197; although the establishment of the Mission was officially sanctioned only by the Kyakhta Treaty of June 14, 1728.

³² «Материалы по истории Российской духовной миссии в Пекине», вып. I, под ред. Н. И. Веселовского, СПб., 1906; Н. В. Кюнер, История Пекинской духовной миссии, — Приложение к «Новейшей истории стран Дальнего Востока», Владивосток, 1910, ч. II,

вып. 3, стр. 64—87; Николай (Адоратский), История Пекинской духовной миссии, Казань, 1887.

³³ Л. П. Потапов, Очерки по истории алтайцев, М.—Л., 1953, стр. 197—205, 242—249.

³⁴ С. Ф. Ольденбург, Русский комитет для изучения Средней и Восточной Азии, — Отдельный оттиск «ЖМНП», 1904, стр. 44.

³⁵ Б. А. Лунин *Op. cit.* стр. 58—60; Б. А. Литвинский, К истории Закаспийского кружка любителей археологии и истории Востока, — «Изв. ООИ Академии Наук Тадж. ССР», Сталинабад, 1957, № 14, стр. 157—167.

³⁶ «Вестник Имп. Общества Востоковедения», 1916, № 1, стр. 14; See also «Устав Имп. Общества Востоковедения», СПб., 1900.

³⁷ «Вестник Имп. Общества Востоковедения», 1916, № 8, стр. 123.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1916, № 1, стр. 20.

³⁹ «Отчет о деятельности Общества русских ориенталистов в С.-Петербурге за 1910 год», СПб., 1911, стр. 3.

⁴⁰ «Русская периодическая печать (1702—1894)». Справочник, М., 1959, стр. 17.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, стр. 48.

⁴² Б. М. Данциг, Из истории изучения Ближнего Востока в России (вторая четверть XVIII в.), — «Очерки по истории русского востоковедения», Сб., IV, М., 1959, стр. 3—6.

⁴³ «Русская периодическая печать (1702—1894)», стр. 22—23.

⁴⁴ А. Ф. Шидловский, Гр. Ив. Спасский, — «Изв. Всесоюзного географического общества», т. 71, 1939, вып. 8, стр. 1238—1241; Г. Г. Гульбин, К статье «Г. И. Спасский», — там же, т. 72, 1940, вып. 3, стр. 447—448.

⁴⁵ Е. И. Гневущева, Из истории востоковедной прессы в России, журнал «Азиатский вестник», 1872 г., — Советское востоковедение, 1955, № 3, стр. 151—157. — Вторая книга этого журнала была отпечатана, но не вышла в свет (Е. И. Гневущева, *op. cit.*, стр. 154—155).

⁴⁶ Concerning the publication of Academic periodical literature see «Об ученых сборниках и периодических изданиях Имп. Академии Наук с 1726 по 1852 гг.» и об издании «Ученых записок» — «Ученые записки Имп. Академии наук по I и III отделениям», т. I, СПб., 1853, стр. I—CXL.

⁴⁷ Е. К. Бетгер, Роспись статьям и заметкам по истории и археологии Средней Азии, помещенным в газете «Туркестанские ведомости» за время ее существования (28 апреля 1870—15 декабря 1917), Ташкент, 1927.

⁴⁸ Б. В. Лунин, Библиографический, именной и географический указатели к протоколам и сообщениям Туркестанского кружка любителей археологии (1895—1917), — «История материальной культуры Узбекистана», вып. 1, Ташкент, 1959, стр. 231—254.

⁴⁹ Р. Нафигов, Деятельность Центрального мусульманского комиссариата при Народном Комиссариате по делам национальностей, 1956, № 5, стр. 116—120.

⁵⁰ А. Э. Шмидт, Туркестанский Восточный институт за первые 4 года своего существования (1918—1922), — «Наука и просвещение», Ташкент, 1922, № 2, стр. 112—125; in 1924 the Turkestan Oriental Institute was reorganized into the Oriental faculty of the Central Asian State University, which functioned till 1931. — «Совет-

ское востоковедение», № 6, стр. 97. — In 1944 the Oriental Faculty was again opened at that University («О состоянии востоковедения в Киеве», — «Восток», 1923, № 3, стр. 131—132).

⁵¹ Н. Н. Селихов и С. Л. Вельтман, Ленин и первые шаги советского востоковедения, — СВ, 1958, № 2, стр. 22.

⁵² М. Бречкевич, Северо-Восточный археологический и этнографический институт в г. Казани, — «Известия Сев.-вост. археологического и этнографического института», т. I, стр. 6—7.

⁵³ «Ленинградский университет», 1819—1944, М., 1954, стр. 122.

⁵⁴ For Reference information concerning orientology in Petrograd in the first years of Soviet power see «Востоковедение в Петрограде 1918—1922», Петроград, 1923, 89 стр.

⁵⁵ С. Ф. Ольденбург, Восточная коллегия «Всемирной литературы», — «Восток», 1922, № 1, стр. 106—107; А. А. Бодрова, Горький и Восточная коллегия «Всемирной литературы», — «Советское востоковедение», 1958, № 5, стр. 124—127.

⁵⁶ Т. Н. Кары-Ниязов, Очерки истории культуры Советского Узбекистана, Ташкент, 1958, стр. 161 (на узбекском языке). — This book was also published in Russian.

⁵⁷ Т. Н. Кары-Ниязов, op. cit., стр. 163.

⁵⁸ Ю. Д. Дешериев, Развитие младописьменных языков народов СССР, М., 1958, стр. 64.

⁵⁹ The Scientific Society of Tatar Studies was created on the basis of the Society of Orientalology founded in 1922 at the Oriental Academy and closed down in the autumn of 1925. See «Вестник научного общества татароведения», № 1—2 (Казань), 1925, стр. 57.

⁶⁰ Г. А. Князев, А. В. Кольцов, Краткий очерк истории Академии наук СССР, М. — Л., 1957, стр. 110—111.

⁶¹ Ibid., стр. 94.

⁶² «220 лет Академии наук СССР, Справочная книга», М. — Л., 1945, стр. 247.

⁶³ Сб., «Младописьменные языки народов СССР», М., 1959, стр. 43.

⁶⁴ Ibid., стр. 44.

⁶⁵ С. Ф. Ольденбург, Восток, и Запад в советских условиях, М., 1931, стр. 9.

⁶⁶ It should be pointed out by the way that such important scientific organisations as the Choresm Expedition /S. P. Tolstov/ and the South-Turkmenian Archaeological Multipurpose Expedition (M. E. Masson) deserve to have their own written history.

⁶⁷ Friedrich Adelung, Catherinens der Grossen Verdienste um die vergleichende Sprachkunde, St.-Petersburg, 1815.

⁶⁸ B. Dorn Über die hohe Wichtigkeit und die namhaften Fortschritte der asiatischen Studien in Russland Rede gehalten am 29. Dec. 1839, — «Recueil des Actes des seances publiques de L'Académie des sciences de St.—P», СПб., 1840, S. 55—114.

⁶⁹ B. Dorn, Das asiatische Museum der Akademie Wissenschaften zu St.-Petersburg, St.-P., 1846, 776s.

⁷⁰ В. В. Григорьев, Жизнь и труды П. С. Савельева, преимущественно по воспоминаниям и переписке с ним», СПб., 1861, стр. 306.

⁷¹ П. С. Савельев, О жизни и трудах О. И. Сенковского, —

«Собрание сочинений Сенковского /барона Брамбеуса/, СПб., 1858, т. I, стр. XI—CXXXVIII.

⁷² Н. И. Веселовский, В. В. Григорьев по его письмам и трудам, 1816—1881, СПб., 1887, 228+105 стр.

⁷³ For the list of P. S. Saveliev's works see В. В. Григорьев, Жизнь и труды П. С. Савельева, стр. 175—201.

⁷⁴ For the list of V. V. Grigoriev's works see Н. И. Веселовский, В. В. Григорьев..., стр. 085—0105.

⁷⁵ С. К. Булич, Очерки истории языкознания в России, т. I. XIII в.—1825 г.), СПб., 1904.

⁷⁶ В. (В.) Бартольд, Н. И. Веселовский как исследователь Востока и истории русской науки,—«Записки Восточного отделения Русского археологического общества», т. XXV, стр. 337—355.

⁷⁷ Two publications: 1) «Труды 3-го международного съезда ориенталистов в С.—Петербурге», 1876, т. I, 1879—1880, стр. 97—256; 2) A separate reprint of the above-mentioned publication, СПб., 1879, 162 стр.

⁷⁸ For the bibliography of S. F. Oldenburg's articles on the history И. Ю. Крачковский, С. Ф. Ольденбург как историк востоковедения.—«Академик И. Ю. Крачковский», Избранные сочинения, т. V, стр. 361—371.

⁷⁹ И. Ю. Крачковский, Очерки..., стр. 242—243.

⁸⁰ В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, Русский индианист Герасим Степанович Лебедев,—«Очерки по истории русского востоковедения», Сб. 2, М., 1956, стр. 36—63; Л. С. Гамаюнов, Из истории изучения Индии в России. К вопросу о деятельности Г. С. Лебедева, там же, стр. 74—117; Л. С. Гамаюнов, Герасим Лебедев — основоположник русской индологии,—«Советское востоковедение», 1956, № 1, стр. 145—154; В. Смирнова-Ракитина, Герасим Лебедев. Исторический роман, М., 1959.

⁸¹ З. И. Горбачева, Н. А. Петров, Г. Ф. Смыкалов, Б. И. Панкратов, Русский китаевед академик Василий Павлович Васильев,—«Очерки по истории русского востоковедения», сб. 2, М., 1956, стр. 232—340; Н. А. Петров, Академик В. П. Васильев и Восточный факультет,—«Вестник Ленинградского университета», № 8, 1956, стр. 85—98.

⁸² В. П. Таранович, Илларион Россохин и его труды по китаеведению,—«Советское востоковедение», т. III, 1945, стр. 225—241.

⁸³ The basic literature on the work of N. Y. Bichurin was mentioned in A. N. Bernshtam's article «Н. Я. Бичурин (Иакинф) и его труд «Собрание сведений о народах, обитавших в Средней Азии в древние времена»,—see Н. Я. Бичурин (Иакинф), Собрание сведений о народах, обитавших в Средней Азии в древние времена, v. I, М.—Л., 1950, стр. V—LV.—The personality of Bichurin attracted the attention of the Soviet writers A. Talanov and N. Romanova who wrote a biographical novel about Bichurin «Friend Dzhungo» (1955), as well as of the playwright V. Romanov who wrote the play «Nikita Bichurin (The Free-thinker in the Cassock)», 1959.

⁸⁴ И. Н. Кобленц, Андрей Иванович Богданов. 1692—1766, М., 1958.

⁸⁵ The supplement contains: Примечания Г. Н. Румянцева к трудам Д. Банзарова; Родословная; Список сочинений Д. Банзарова; Библиография литературы о Д. Банзарове.

⁸⁶ Н. К. Дмитриев, Труды русских ученых в области тюркологии, — «Учёные записки МГУ», вып. 107, т. III, кн. II, М., 1946, стр. 63—70; В. В. Мийлер, Труды русских ученых в области иранского языкознания, — там же, стр. 71—75; И. Ю. Крачковский, Очерки истории арабистики в России и СССР, — там же, стр. 99—121; Е. И. Убрятова, Очерк истории изучения якутского языка, Якутск, 1945, 36 стр.; А. П. Поцелуевский, История изучения туркменского языка, «Материалы 1-й конференции АН СССР по изучению производительных сил Туркменской ССР», Л., 1933, вып. 3, 47 стр.; А. А. Губер, Изучение Индии в Советском Союзе, М., 1954; Е. Я. Люстерник, Русско-индийские экономические связи в XIX веке, М., 1958; О. Ф. Соловьев, Из истории русско-индийских связей, М., 1958; А. П. Конаков, Маньчжуристика в России и СССР, — «Изв. АН СССР, ОЛия», 1947, № 5, стр. 417—424; Б. К. Пашков, Вклад русских ученых в изучение маньчжурского языка и письменности, — «Краткие сообщения ИВ», вып. XVIII, 1956, стр. 3—18; Н. А. Невский, Очерк истории тангутоведения, — «Изв. ООИ АН СССР», 1931, Серия VII, № 1, стр. 7—22; А. В. Стрепина, У истоков русского и мирового китаеведения, — СЭ, 1950, № 1, стр. 170—177; Г. И. Михайлов, Послевоенные работы советских филологов-монголистов, 1945—1955, — «Краткие сообщения ИВ», вып. XXVI, 1958, стр. 17—31; Н. А. Баскаков, К истории изучения хакасского языка, — «Хакасский научно-исследовательский ин-т языка, литературы и истории. Записки», т. II, стр. 85—104, Абакан, 1951; Н. А. Баскаков, К истории изучения алтайского языка, — «Ученые записки Горно-Алтайского научно-исследовательского ин-та истории, языка и литературы», Вып. 2, 1958, стр. 24—38; М. С. Михайлов, Об изучении турецкой литературы в отечественной тюркологии, — «Вопросы языка и литературы стран Востока», М., 1958, стр. 275—320; А. Л. Гальперин, Русская историческая наука о зарубежном Дальнем Востоке в XVIII—середине XIX в., — Сборник «Очерки по истории русского востоковедения», т. 2, М., 1956, стр. 3—35; Н. П. Шастина, История изучения Монгольской Народной Республики (Краткий очерк), — Сб. «Монгольская Народная Республика», М., 1952, стр. 15—55; Л. В. Батманова, История изучения киргизского языка (1952); С. Е. Яхонтов, Изучение китайского языка в СССР за десять лет. 1949—1958, — «Научные доклады военной школы. Филологические науки», 1959, № 3, стр. 3—14; Б. С. Исаенко, Китайское языкознание в СССР за последнее десятилетие, — ВЯ, 1959, № 6, стр. 131—135; В. И. Кальянов, Об изучении санскрита в Советском Союзе, — «Вестник Ленинградского университета», 1957, № 8, стр. 23—36; В. М. Бескровный, Из истории изучения живых индийских языков в России в XIX веке, — «Вестник Ленинградского университета», 1957, № 8, стр. 37—50; З. И. Горбачева, Новый этап в развитии тангутоведения (к выходу в свет трудов Н. А. Невского по тангутоведению), — ПВ, 1959, № 6, стр. 163—169; В. (В.) Цыбульский, П. А. Чихачев — выдающийся исследователь Алтая, 1919; Г. Шарбатов, Арабистика в СССР (1907—1957), М., 1959; Н. А. Baskakov, L'étude des langues turques en Union Soviétique, — «Acts Orientalia Hungaricae», t. IX, N I, 1959, p. 39—53. If we add to this list (which could be considerably extended) the three volumes of «Studies in the History of Russian Orientalology» («Очерки

по истории русского востоковедения», 1953, 1956, 1959), we shall get a graphic idea of the scope of research work in the field of the history of Orientology in our country.

⁶⁷ Here are some of them: Н. З. Гаджиева, Азербайджанское языкознание за 40 лет, — «Изв. АН АзССР», Баку, 1957, № 2, стр. 203—217; С. К. Кенесбаев и Ш. Ш. Сарыбаев, Казахское языкознание за 40 лет, — «Вестник АН Казах.ССР», Алма-Ата, 1957, № 11, стр. 55—66; Х. М. Абдуллаев, 40 лет советской науки в Узбекистане, Ташкент, 1958, 215 стр.; С. П. Толстов, 40 лет советской этнографии, — СЭ, 1957, № 5, стр. 31—55; В. И. Авдиев, Советская наука о Древнем Востоке за 40 лет М., 1958, 103 стр. — Our colleagues in the countries of the socialist camp have also devoted special works to the 40th anniversary of Soviet Oriental studies: M. Guboglu, Quarante ans d'études orientales en URSS (1917—1957), — «Studia et Acta Orientalia», I, 1957, pp. 281—316. The preceding anniversaries were also marked by special works summarizing the research in the field of Oriental studies. С. Ф. Ольденбург, Востоковедение, — Сб. «АН СССР за десять лет. 1917—1927», Л., 1927, стр. 140—154; С. Ф. Ольденбург, Советское востоковедение за 16 лет, — «Труды Ноябрьской юбилейной сессии АН СССР», 1932, Л., 1933, стр. 537—541; В. В. Струве, Изучение истории Древнего Востока в СССР за период 1917—1937 гг., — «Вестник древней истории», 1938, № 1 (2), стр. 13—22. — Эта статья служит продолжением статьи Б. А. Тураева, Русская наука о Древнем Востоке до 1917 года, Л. 1927, 19 стр.; А. К. Боровков, Востоковедение в СССР за 30 лет, — «Изв. АН СССР, ОЛН», 1947, № 5; Л. Н. Харитонов, Изучение якутского языка за 25 лет автономии ЯАССР, — «Доклады на первой научной сессии Якутской базы АН СССР», Якутск, 1948, стр. 80—106; И. М. Дьяконов, Изучение клинописи в СССР за тридцать лет, — ВДИ, 1947, № 3; Т. А. Бертагаев, К истории изучения бурят-монгольского языка за советский период, — «Записки Бурят-монг. НИИКЭ», вып. IX, 1949 г., стр. 84—100; Сборники: «Наука в Киргизии за 20 лет. 1926—1946», Фрунзе, 1946 и «25 лет советской науки в Узбекистане», Ташкент, 1942.

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XXV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS
PAPERS PRESENTED BY THE USSR DELEGATION

M. KOROSTOVTZEV

Moscow

**AN UNPUBLISHED ANCIENT EGYPTIAN
LITERARY TEXT**

ORIENTAL LITERATURE PUBLISHING HOUSE
Moscow 1960

The Egyptian hieratic papyrus N 127, together with the account of Wen-Amun and the onomasticon of Amenope was acquired by W.Golenischef in 1891 from a Cairo antiquarian. The three papyri were discovered together in the neighbourhood of El-Hibeh, in Upper Egypt. The only one still unstudied and unpublished is papyrus N 127. In referring to this papyrus W.S.Golenischef himself wrote but a few lines, among which we find: "So far, I must admit, the meaning of the text escapes me...". Then he rightly pointed out that some incomprehensible words and scribes mistakes considerably obscured its meaning (Rec.Trav., 15 (1893), p.87-89). The document has been unstudied since Golenischeff's time. The only mention of it in special literature is made in the articles by G.Posener and A.H.Gardiner. The former placed it in his catalogue of the works of Egyptian literature under N 51 with the following note: "Narrative in letter form. The papyrus, extending over six pages, is contemporary with Wen-Amun and originates from the same place. Unpublished". (G.Posener, Les richesses incounnues de la litterature egyptienne, RE, 6/1951/, p.41).

In his reference to the demotic particle HMY G.Gardiner makes a correction of the note to this text in the Berlin dictionary, pointing out that in the said

dictionary it is erroneously referred to as "the Petersbourg Papyrus" (A.Gardiner, Remarques sur la particule demotique HMY, CdE 30, N 60 /1955/, p.289,I). The information about this text in egyptological literature is limited to the above. It remains only to add the use of the papyrus made by the authors of the Berlin dictionary. W.S.Golenischeff kindly allowed them to acquaint themselves with the text and the words of the papyrus were enregistered on file cards, Part of them were included in the dictionary. According to Dr.H.Grapow's letter to the author of this paper, the words whose reading was found dubious or could not be made out at all did not enter the dictionary. I should like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr.H.Grapow both for his valuable letter and the information on the dictionary files, that contain data concerning our papyrus. The papyrus consists of a single piece, its length being 1,21 m. and its height approximately 0,22 m. The recto of the papyrus is divided into 5 payes, each of the first four containing from 14 to 16 lines, and the fifth being of but 6 lines. The verso is blank, with the exception of three lines with gaps between them having no bearing on the text proper. Generally speaking, the papyrus is well preserved; the handwriting is clear and distinct.

In the introduction to his "Egyptian literature" B.Turayev points out that there are Egyptian texts the

scientific translation of which is impossible. It is to this category of texts that papyrus N 127 unfortunately belongs. It abounds in obscure and incomprehensible passages, which evidence the fact that the text has been corrupted beyond recognition. This is especially true with the text beginning III, 8 and further on. It is a pity we do not possess any other variants of the text, which could in any way help us correct the corrupted passages and to fill in the gaps; in short, to facilitate an understanding of the text. One should admit, however, that as a piece of Egyptian literature so far unpublished and unstudied the text in question is undoubtedly of considerable interest. We are obviously dealing here with a corrupted copy of a narrative in epistolary form, and not that of a letter; works of such a genre are quite familiar to us. Suffice it to recollect the model letters of varied contents in the Papyrus Bologna 1094. Our "letter" differs from similar "litters" in being a story of its author's misadventures. It begins with the words "copy of a letter". It is no doubt a copy, indeed, yet not of the original, but of still another copy, that might also have been a copy in its turn. This conclusion is borne out by the corrup-

tion of the text and abundance of mistakes. A copy of the original itself could hardly have been corrupted to such an extent. Some mistakes are due to mishearing, e.g. nh³nj instead of nhj n (II,8); shnm instead of the required snmh (I,5); m³w bw ib instead of m ³w ib (I,8) etc. On the other hand, there occur mistakes and gaps undoubtedly resulting from careless copying, e.g. ddb instead of dbh (III,15); the unfinished sentence iw·f hpr mdi (V,3), etc. The text is too short to make us assume that it was both copied and written to dictation. The presence of both oral and visual mistakes admits only one explanation that in one case the text was written to dictation, whereas in another it was simply copied. How often this was done, no one can tell. The number and nature of the mistakes prove that the copying was done by inexperienced scribes, that had been learning their trade and had been training in it. Thus, we have a good reason to rank the text in question with the rather numerous group of texts known according to Ermen as Schülerhandschriften. Yet, this circumstance can in no way reduce our interest in the contents of the papyrus.

In accordance with the evidence of its paleographic peculiarities, the text at our disposal is contemporary with Wen-Amun's account and Amenope's onomasticon. It

is quite evident, however, that this work dates from a much earlier period of which we can find indication in the text itself: the fact is, that Urmu, the author of the "letter", owned horses and chariot (III,5). But it is after the Hyksos that chariots and horses are known to have appeared in Egypt, and it is likewise after the Hyksos that the very word *ssmt* "horse" (of semitic origin) appeared. It indicated that this letter could not have appeared before the beginning of the New Kingdom. But in III,I we find data which make this dating more precise. It is stated there that the Libian tribes *Tmhw* and *Thn* cross the breadth of Egypt, i.e. a massive and powerful invasion of Libians into the country is implied. As is well known, an invasion of this type first took place during the rule of the Pharaoh of the XIXth Dynasty Merneptah, and, consequently, the letter as a literary text could not have appeared before this event.

Now, let us try make to out the meaning of the text.

To begin with, let us dwell on the author and the addressee of the "letter". The former had the title of a priest-it *ntr*, "father of a god" of the temple of Heliopolis, but in view of the fact that priests of various stations in the hierarchy bore this title it is quite impossible to define the position held by the

author of the "letter". Besides this title and the fact already mentioned, namely, that he was the owner of horses and chariot, we know nothing of him but his name - Wrm³1. The addressee P³rcms was "the king's scribe" at a fortified point Wsr-m³ct-R³nh³t, apparently situated somewhere near Herakleopolis Magna.

Nothing more is known of him. The "letter" opens with the indication of who is writing to whom. Next come greetings and various good wishes. This part of the text occupies the entire first page and a few lines of the second. It is written in the usual style peculiar to salutary addresses of this kind (e.g., the Papyrus Anastasi IV, 3, 3-4, 1). Here we find wishes for a prolonged life, safety and health, the king's and God's blessing, wishes for a life lasting 110 years in good health and spirits. Unexpectedly at this point one comes across an incomprehensible phrase about wine (I, 9-10) which has nothing at all to do either with the preceding or with the content of the text which follows. Then, in fine Egyptian style, there come wishes for a fine interment, and of the best there is in the next world. It is not until II, 4 that the author's narrative of his misadventures begins. Complaining of his extreme dispondency and ruin, the author of the "letter" tells that he has been driven out of his native town and deprived of his property (II, 5-6). Who it was that mistreated him, we do

not know, for the author confines himself to a laconic mention of "great criminals". He proceeds saying that they killed women and captured children as their prey; it seems that these children were then taken to their ships. This is followed by some quite remarkable words, provided I understand and translate them correctly: "My servants command them" (II,9). This place sheds light on the preceding part of the narrative: it was not an invasion implied, but an uprising, which was the cause of the author's banishment from his native town, that is Heliopolis. His servants joined the rebels and were now commanding his captured children. In II,10 he repeats that he had been deprived of his position and banished from his former "place" (st), as a result of which he was obliged to wander from place to place (here follows an enumeration of these places). Then in II,11 Urmai says that the country is surrounded by the flame of the enemy who had seized North and South, East and West. The meaning of II,13-14 is presumably to the following effect: going downstream the enemies have reached the North. So far, it was the internal enemy in question. But II,14-15 informs us of the tribes Pdt ^{swt}, which have invaded Egypt from the East, and from II,1 we learn of the Lybian tribes, Temeh-people and Tehenu-people, "crossing the breadth of Egypt". Thus, there

is not only an uprising involved but a foreign invasion as well, the invaders being directly and clearly indicated. The reference, being brief and fragmentary, does not enable us to state whether it reflects the events during the reign of Merneptah or that of the invasion Egypt underwent at the beginning of the XXth Dynasty. At any rate, the whole situation is reminiscent of that described by Ramses IV in P.Harris,I - "one kills another be he noble or lowly" (75,4); "one kills his friend, property is plundered" (75,5). After long wanderings Urmal quite unexpectedly took shelter in the oasis El-Khargeh. Urmal's flight was full of hardships: his horses and chariot were taken away from him and he had to leave his city on foot; the city had become alien to him because postburial services were no longer conducted: III, 8 cannot be interpreted otherwise.

Somewhat further (III,II) he says: "The body and bones have been disinterred. Who is to cover them?" This certainly implies the mummies thrown out from the tombs. The desecration of tombs is likewise described in the famous Leiden Papyrus containing the instructions of Ipuser (VII,1-2). Further, the text is so corrupted that it is impossible to make any connected narrative out of it. Still, here too there are some noteworthy features.

In IV,3-5 he says that he is hiding from certain

people, and that "Low is the Nile, their country is plunged into darkness". Hence a comparison suggests itself with Papyrus III 6, B recto of the State Hermitage Museum, lines 24-25 of which run as follows: "The sun is hidden, it will not shine..." and in line 26 the dried-up Egyptian rivers are mentioned. In the text of the present "letter" repeated mention is made of two persons, one referred to as "he", the other as "his master". Who and what these persons were is quite unknown, but Urmai evidently considers them as his enemies. He says: "he did me wrong in my own town" (IV, II). Then the author speaks about grain, fields and a false measure of grain, together with the indication of its capacity, the carpenter who made it being referred to in the following terms: "Oh, how deceitful is the carpenter who made it!" In short, Urmai seems to regard someone's dealings with grain and its false measure as a great calamity, for in V, 2 bitter lamentations are mentioned apparently in connection with all this. In V, 3 one comes across an allusion to a "great sin" against God followed by an unfinished sentence beginning with the words *iw.f hpr mdi*. As this is immediately followed by "who is to cover them?", the words already met with in relation to the desecration of tombs, III, 11 we can assume that this unfinished sentence must approximately be to the same effect.

Everything put together gives us an account of **Urmal's** misfortunes caused by a rebellion and a foreign invasion. Further **Urmal** appeals to God praying for protection from "them", that is from his enemies, whose evil deeds he describes. Finally, he expresses his intention to write to the tribe **Ser** to Naharin seemingly with an appeal for help. Here the text comes abruptly to an end, with page 5 left unfinished.

Such is the content of the papyrus in its most general features, a more detailed understanding being impossible owing to the corruption of the text. One can hardly doubt that our text is a literary reflection of the sufferings that Egypt was subject to during the distressful years of the invasion of Lybian and other tribes, in the times of the New Kingdom. This is what constitutes its main interest. Thus far, scholars have never come across a single literary work mentioning these events.

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XXV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

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T. A. ZHDANKO

**SEMI-NOMADISM IN THE HISTORY
OF CENTRAL ASIA AND KAZAKHSTAN**

ORIENTAL LITERATURE PUBLISHING HOUSE
Moscow 1960

Ethnography had long since advanced beyond dividing all the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan into nomadic herdsmen and settled agriculturists, as distinctly opposed to each other. The ancient Central Asian culture was believed to have been created by the agricultural peoples alone, although even they, as many historians and ethnographers assume, borrowed their civilization from Iran, India, China, and the Arab countries rather than created one of their own. The historical mission of the nomad pastoral tribes and peoples who inhabited the vast desert, semi-desert and steppe areas, skirting the Central Asian oases on the North, West, and South-West in a gigantic semi-circle, was usually considered to have been negative and destructive to Central Asian culture, this being due to the ever-recurrent savage armed forays into the agricultural regions of Central Asia by the nomadic «barbarians» who smashed cities and irrigation works, devastated villages and killed their inhabitants.

Some authors were inclined to treat the history of oriental countries as one unbroken process of hostility and «steppe versus oases» warfare¹.

The development of historical science, specifically in the republican academies of sciences and other research establishments of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, enabled a more-searching and comprehensive analysis of the major theoretical problems involved in the history and ethnography of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, and in particular, the history of relationship of the steppe-land tribes and peoples to the settled cultivators. The archaeological investigations have not only proved the independent development of the culture of the settled peoples of Central Asia since the oldest times, but also caused the notorious «theory» of the «savagery» and «want of culture» of the steppe dwellers to crumble away. Important scientific publications dealing with the history of the architecture and the arts of the

Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Turkmens have appeared². The cultural influence the agricultural and steppe-land peoples had on each other is beyond doubt. The strong influence of the specific forms of art of the «barbaric» steppe-land tribes, can be traced up to the oldest times by the archaeological findings from the centres of Central Asian civilization.

It has been put beyond dispute that the «steppe-oasis» relationship has, throughout the centuries, been based on peaceful economic relations. This kind of relations was due to the social division of labour at the birth of class society as nomad herding branched off the combined economy typical of the primitive community system. Nomadic herdsmen could not exist in isolation from the agricultural people. Regular trade and barter of livestock products for bread and handicraft goods developed between them from ancient times³. This trade was centred in the cities and large handicraftmen's settlements along the caravan routes. The ruins of these settlements, dating from the antique and medieval times, have now been discovered not only in the oases but also deep in the steppe and desert areas.

It has been found that the negative role of the notorious «predatory» raids of agricultural oases by wandering hordes in the historical process has been greatly exaggerated. On the whole, however, as rightly pointed out by A. Y. Yakubovsky, a noted Soviet authority on the Central Asian medieval history, «wherever agricultural and nomadic communities lived side by side under feudalism, armed forays gave way to peaceful trading relations. The history of Central Asia, Mongolia and China is full of facts to bear this out»⁴.

Yet, it may well be that the most important achievement in the study of the interrelationship between the nomadic and agricultural peoples lies in the scientific differentiation of the earlier conception of the nomadic and settled populations of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, as two ethnographic components, and the identification of a third component as semi-nomadic.

The population of Central Asia and Kazakhstan developed a fairly wide variety of economic practices due to the variety of landscapes typical of these regions. This variety has been preserved to this day.

Economic geographers of this country, while studying the historically-evolved types of economy to provide scien-

tific arguments of the proper territorial distribution of economic activity, identify up to 15 types of farming in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, with only three being stock tending (those of West Kazakhstan, the Kara Kum, the Kizil Kum, and the East Pamirs), — the rest of them being agricultural or mixed, that is combining agriculture with herding or herding with agriculture⁵.

Ethnography has developed its own principle of classifying human economic activity by the so called economico-cultural types, this including not only the economic and geographic characteristics, but also the mode of life and the peculiarities of material culture — types of settlement and abode, means of conveyance, food, etc. — largely determined by the geographic conditions and economic trends⁶.

The economico-cultural types of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, first identified and described by S. P. Tolstov in his course of lectures on Asian ethnography at Moscow University⁷, are now being studied in greater detail by B. V. Andrianov on the basis of the factual evidence of the 19th- the beginning of the 20th centuries. It is being found that the predominant types of economic and cultural activity in six out of the 13 natural-economic zones in the pre-revolutionary period was that of settled agriculturists; in three it was the economico-cultural type of nomadic herds-men, some of whom practised primitive irregular land cultivation, including both irrigated farming (liman and spring-fed irrigation) and dry farming. Finally, the predominant type of economico-cultural activity in another four natural-economic zones was that of semi-nomad agriculturists and herdsmen who practised irregular irrigated (floodland and liman) farming combined with desert pasturing and often fishing. The semi-nomadic population resided on the fringes of the agricultural oases of Khorezm, Bokhara, Tashkent, Murgab, etc., as well as in the lower reaches and delta plains of the Amu Darya, Syr Darya, Talas, Chu, and other Central Asian rivers. Another semi-nomad group practised dry farming and small-oasis irrigated cultivation in combination with upland herding and pasture farming in the foothills, mountain slopes and table lands of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

In examining the ethnographic characteristics of individual peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan from the standpoint of their economic peculiarities, one finds ample

reason even to-day for saying that each of those numerous peoples engaged in some measure of semi-nomadic economic activity even before they were joined to Russia — the fact which exerted great influence on the progress of agriculture and settlement. It was practised even by the most ancient Tadjik agriculturists (for instance, the Tadjik-Khardury and others in the Baysun and Kuhistan mountains of South Uzbekistan) ⁸, and by some of the Uzbeks (the so-called semi-nomadic groups in North Khorezm, the Khanate of Bokhara, Samarkand region, etc.). It was also common to fairly large sections of the nomad and settled Kazakh populations (in the Semirechye (Seven Rivers), in the Irtish Valley, on the banks of the Zaisan, in the middle and lower reaches of the Syr Darya, on the northern fringes of the Khorezm Oasis, and in the North-Western regions — the Irghiz, Turgai, Emba basins, etc.) and the Kirghiz in the Ferghana Valley, the Issyk-Kul depression, as well as in the Chu and Talas river basins. The same type of economic activity was the inherent practice of the Turkmens, who combined cattle breeding and agriculture from the earliest times and divided themselves into the *charva* and *chomur*, and was particularly typical of the Kara-Kalpaks who had it more deeply rooted as they retained many elements of the combined pastoral-fishing-agricultural type of economy of the most ancient tribes on the lands surrounding the Aral Sea.

The latest research findings may be said to be differentiating the nomadic world, as it were, with the specific features and historical role of the semi-nomadic populations becoming more and more clearly defined. There is a wealth of factual evidence to bear out the accuracy of the well-known statement by Karl Marx that a general relationship between the settled life of some sections of all the Oriental tribes and the continued nomadism of other sections may be traced back to the dawn of history ⁹.

Ethnography, as it stands to-day, no longer admits of a schematic division of the population of Central Asia and Kazakhstan into «pure» nomads and settled agriculturists. «Elements of settled life and agriculture seem to have always been present in nomad herding» ¹⁰.

The following can be considered the main ethnographic features common to various semi-nomadic groups of Central Asia and Kazakhstan: the combined type of economy—

the combination of poorly developed extensive irrigated cultivation and dry farming with cattle-tending, and in some areas, with fishing; the character of the economy is natural and its marketability is lower than that of nomadic herdsmen who easily travelled with their herds over vast tracts of territory to oases and trading cities. The settlement is unstable, the main type of dwelling being the yourt, often coupled with dwellings typical of the settled population, and their household utensils have much in common with those of nomadic peoples. The same is true of the diet (the kinds of dairy products and the ways of making them). Carpet-making was a typical kind of domestic craft everywhere. A feature of public and family life was the preservation, at least as durable as in the case of the nomads, of the survivals of tribal division and the patriarchal mode of life. The aul communities, both cattle-breeding and agricultural, retained most tangible elements of the clan community. The forms of exploitation in the 19th and the early 20th centuries were patriarchal-feudal¹¹.

By their general social and economic standards, the semi-nomadic population of those days rather seldom represented a transitional stage between the backward nomads and the oasis dwellers. In most cases the population with such an economic structure and mode of life was at the same stage of evolution as the nomadic herdsmen, or even lagged behind them in many respects, since even long before the 19th and the early 20th centuries, specialized nomadic commodity stock breeding as a branch of economy was mostly the privilege of the bays, manaps and other well-to-do nomads¹².

In spite of the many common ethnographic features, the semi-nomadic population of Central Asia and Kazakhstan is heterogeneous and divided into two large groups, according to its historical and ethnographic characteristics. The first one comprises the nomadic herdsmen who moved from the steppes and settled in the civilized oasis region and the adjacent areas. It is this particular group that is usually implied by references to the semi-nomadic population, for this is the one that is known best from historical literature. Large and small tribal groups, who had come from the neighbouring steppe-lands, resided among the settled cultivators ever since the oldest times. In many instances those were the conquerors who settled on the

already colonised irrigated lands and gradually learned the irrigation and crop-farming methods of the surrounding population, thus taking to settled life (e. g. the Uzbeks of North Khorezm). Other ethnographic groups were in process of settlement for several centuries. They were still semi-nomadic until recently. These groups include the Uzbeks whom we know as descendants of the medieval Dashedi Qipchaq tribes (Lokais, Qipchaqs, Durmens, etc.) and even of the more ancient Turkic tribes (the ethnographic groups of Turks, Qarluqs, Barlases, etc.).

By their mode of life and general ethnographic characteristics they markedly differed from the Uzbeks — descendants of the ancient population of the oases (sarts), and retained many nomadic traditions in their culture and life.

To this first group may also be referred the Kazakh poor, who settled on the oasis fringes with little cattle or none at all in their possession and who had been in the process of settlement for just a few decades by the time of the October Revolution. Those were the so-called «Jataks» who took to agriculture as a result of the drastic differentiation in the Kazakh nomadic aul mostly in the 19th and the early 20th centuries.

The second, major and more numerous semi-nomadic group comprises most of the Turkmens, Kara-Kalpaks, Uzbeks of the Aral Sea area and a portion of the Syr Darya Kazakhs — descendants of the tribes and peoples, for whom this economico-cultural type was predominant throughout their history — in ancient times and in the early and late Middle Ages. Those were the inhabitants of the deserts and steppe-lands, the lake areas and the steppe river banks, the vast desert-like delta plains. They may have inherited the archaic traditions of the combined agricultural herding and fishing economy from the local dwellers of the Bronze Age. From the earliest time they have been the tillers of the soil as well as herdsmen and fishermen. They knew the art of reclaiming marsh land, the ways of using all possible water resources for irrigated farming — delta streams and lakes, river floods and precipitation. The natural and economic conditions in the areas of their habitation were rigorous and changing, and, for all their powers of adaptability, their agriculture was unstable and caused them to shift constantly from area to area; «agri-

culture does not make them a settled people», — Levshin wrote about the Kazakhs of the Syr Darya basin in the early 19th century¹³. Whenever faced by oft-recurring natural calamities (floods, changed courses of deltal streams, dried-up lakes, etc.) those wandering tillers moved, with their yourts and other belongings, to other places or switched over, in the main, to other occupations — herding and fishing, which were just as traditional with them and just as well-learned from early times.

The history of the Turkmens, Kara-Kalpaks and Syr Darya Kazakhs abounds in examples attesting to the flexibility of their economy and to their ability to change from agriculture to cattle breeding, or the other way round, whenever necessary.

A distinctive feature of the semi-nomadic peoples' cattle-breeding was the predominance of large-horned cattle in their herds, while millet was an important item of their crop-farming. The áraba was the means of conveyance in the Aral Sea area and so were the camel and the horse in the deserts. The sea-side Turkmen and Kara-Kalpak tribes developed their own type of fishing boat.

This semi-nomadic group, with its primordial combined system of economy, is of the greatest interest in view of its special ethnographic peculiarity. The main area where it was formed in Central Asia was the Aral Sea region and North-East Turkmenia. In the Aral Sea area, which has been the object of exploration by the Khorezm archaeological and ethnographic expedition of the Soviet Academy of Sciences for over twenty years, this economic-cultural type was first discovered by S. P. Tolstov, who described it in his work «The Ghuzz Cities»¹⁴. In this treatise he collated the latest archaeological findings and observations from the examination of the sites of the ancient towns of Kuyuk-Kala and Kuyuk-Kesken-Kala in the Syr Darya estuary, near Kazalinsk¹⁵, with the information furnished by Al-Idrisi, Mahmoud of Kashgar and other Oriental authors of the 11th century. He arrived at the conclusion that the predominant mode of economic activity of the Aral Turkic tribes of the early Middle Ages, just as that of their ancestors — the ancient tribes who inhabited that territory, was combined and their way of life semi-nomadic. The Oghuz, for example, had large fortified fixed quarters along with their portable dwellings.

After checking his findings against the information available about other «nomadic» peoples of the same epoch, S. P. Tolstow postulated a close analogy between the economic structure of Aral Oghuz and Khazar semi-nomadic agriculture combined with fishing, the Khakass (Yenisey-Kyrghyz) economy of irrigated farming, etc. He finds the Kara-Kalpak pattern of economy to be the most characteristic ethnographic survival of that ancient economic structure in Central Asia ¹⁶.

It is no longer the written sources alone, but also the abundant archaeological, historical and ethnographic evidence now available that provide cogent proof of the predominance of semi-nomadism among most of the steppe-land tribes of the Aral Sea area and the historical continuity of this mode of life and economy in that region. The traditions of primitive combined economy of the Bronze Age were passed on to the «barbaric» semi-nomadic Sako-Massaget tribes of antiquity — the exponents of Kokcha-Tengiz culture ¹⁷ of the basins of the lower reaches of the Akcha Darya and the ancient Jany Darya — *appasiaks*, who used to build their own type of fortresses, settlements, and majestic sepulchral structures (Chirik-Rabat, Babish-Mulla, Balandy) ¹⁸, and also to the Tokhari who created what is known as Jety-Asar culture on the banks of the Kuvan Darya, distinguished by its big communal houses with cattle and horse bones inserted in their walls for reinforcement. These houses have been found to contain numerous hoards of millet, grain crushers, fish-hooks, fish-net sinkers ¹⁹.

The memorials of the Chionits-Ephthalits, excavated by the expedition, are characteristic of the subsequent chronological period — the first half and the middle of the first millenium A. D. Among these are the headquarters of a tribal chief — the Barak-Tam Castle (late 4th and early 5th centuries), made of adobe, but with the design of the floors, ceilings and the central hall layout imitating the nomadic yurt structure. In the castle there were found some fragments of a teaselled rug of a pattern and texture very much like those of the carpets made by the Kara-Kalpaks and the Kazakhs. An indication of cattle tending having dominated the economic pattern of the Barak-Tam area is provided by the architectural technique of separating arch bricks with the bones of domestic animals instead of

by ceramic fragments, while the role of agriculture is shown by the traces of numerous settlements, fields and irrigation works over large takyrs in the neighbourhood of this memorial ²⁰.

The expedition has studied a number of other memorials of the Chionit-Ephthalit tribes, including the Kuyuk-kala in the Kushkana-tau mountains where round brick-works have been found, apart from brick dwellings, on which the yourts must have been fixed. The finds excavated prove cattle-breeding, agriculture and handicrafts to have been the local occupations. But the ceramics there, just as in the Barak-Tam settlements, are not of handicraftsmen's making alone. There are many fragments of rough moulding with characteristic archaic drawn ornaments, going back to the Bronze Age, or with typically nomadic patterns — the stylized ram hornlike scrolls, etc. ²¹.

In many sites of ancient settlements of those times the Chionit-Ephthalit layers are superimposed by later ones associated with the Turkic semi-nomadic steppe-land tribes of the Middle Ages. In addition to the fortified «Ghuzz Cities» (Yangikent, Jend, Kuyuk-Kala and Kuyuk-Kesken-Kala near Kazalinsk), the expedition has, in the past two years, discovered and investigated large Oghuz village settlements in the Jany Darya basin and found evidence of their agriculture having been combined with cattle breeding and handicraft industry (Irkibay, Murzaly, etc.).

The 12—14th century settlement, discovered south of the Uigarak mound in 1953, is of the greatest interest. This seems to be the ruins of a small handicraft centre with fragments of brick houses and traces of streets. Right outside this settlement, there are well-preserved canals and fields, and over most of the fields in place of the castle estate ruins, typical of medieval Khorezm, one can clearly see round yourt enclosures and various subsidiary premises of the semi-nomad agriculturists, the Oghuz Turks, whose typical pottery can be found on the town site and in the fields.

About as much factual material on the semi-nomadic peoples has been collected by the expedition's archaeological and ethnographic parties which are studying the history of the economy and life of the descendants of the ancient and medieval Aral Sea tribes — Turkmens, Karakalpaks, the northern Uzbeks of Khorezm, etc. They devoted

several years to studying the sites of the dwelling places of the Turkmens of the Khidir-eli tribe of late medieval times (15th — 17th centuries) in Sarykamish who developed their own type of irrigation system of adobe aqueducts with troughs and water lifts. They built them down the slopes of the Sarykamish depression to bring to their fields the water from the fresh water lakes which existed there in those days. The objects found in the fields include tent rings, fragments of pottery-making, iron-smelting and bread-baking furnaces, millstones and other household effects of the semi-nomadic communities ²².

Other objects under study are later (18th and early 19th century) relics of the material culture of semi-nomad herdsmen (Turkmens and Kara-Kalpaks, found on the ruins of their settlements deserted because of the desiccation of the rivers and the canals which once irrigated their fields and now pass through the desert areas near the dried-up beds of the Daryalyk, Jany Darya and other rivers. These later memorials are being studied by combined archaeological and ethnographic parties ²³.

Finally, the research carried out for many years by the expedition's Kara-Kalpak, Turkmen, and North Uzbek ethnographic parties among the present population of the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and Tashauz Region of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic produced abundant evidence of the peculiarities of semi-nomad life and detailed accounts of aul communities and individual families which existed in the 19th and the early 20th centuries and practised a combined type of economy whose traditions have endured there due to the particular natural and historical conditions. The results of most of these studies have been published ²⁴.

The work carried out in the Kungrad, Takhtakupyr and Muinak districts of the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, on the Urga, in Karajar and on the islands of the Aral Sea revealed much similarity between the economy and life of the local Kazakhs and the Kara-Kalpaks and the Northern Uzbeks of Khorezm.

A particularly close affinity of the mode of life and culture has been established between the Kara-Kalpaks and the Alim Kazakhs.

For all the abundance and cogency of the latest archaeological and ethnographic evidence, the important

problem of semi-nomadism certainly requires a further closer study not only in the Aral Sea area, dealt with by the Khorezm expedition, but elsewhere in Central Asia and Kazakhstan as well.

¹ В. И. Масальский, Туркестанский край, — «Россия» под ред. В. П. Семенова-Тян-Шанского, т. XIX, СПб., 1913, стр. 273.

² See, for example: А. Х. Маргулан, Из истории городов и строительного искусства древнего Казахстана, АН Казахской ССР, Алма-Ата, 1950; А. Маргулан, Т. Басенов, М. Мендикулов, Архитектура Казахстана, Каз. Гос. изд., Алма-Ата, 1959; А. Н. Бернштам, Архитектурные памятники Киргизии, АН СССР, М.—Л., 1950; Г. А. Пугаченкова, Пути развития архитектуры южного Туркменистана поры рабовладения и феодализма, — «Труды ЮТАКЭ», т. VI, М., 1958; В. А. Левина, Д. М. Овезов, Г. А. Пугаченкова, Архитектура туркменского народного жилища, — «Труды ЮТАКЭ», т. III, М., 1953, and others.

³ «Материалы объединенной научной сессии, посвященной истории Средней Азии и Казахстана в дооктябрьский период», АН Уз. ССР, Ташкент, 1955, выступления на сессии В. С. Батракова (стр. 78), А. Н. Бернштама (стр. 111—112), С. П. Толстова (стр. 554—555); В. С. Батраков, Хозяйственные связи кочевых народов с Россией, Средней Азией и Китаем, САГУ, Ташкент, 1958.

⁴ Б. Д. Греков, А. Ю. Якубовский, Золотая орда и ее падение, М., 1950, стр. 28.

⁵ Ю. Г. Саушкин, Географические очерки природы и сельскохозяйственная деятельность населения в различных районах Советского Союза, М., 1947, стр. 13—16, 273—421.

⁶ М. Г. Левин и Н. Н. Чебоксаров, Хозяйственно-культурные типы и историко-этнографические области, — «Советская этнография», 1955, № 4, стр. 4—5.

⁷ S. P. Tolstov's classification see in «Очерки общей этнографии», вып. III, Азиатская часть СССР, Изд. Института этнографии АН СССР, М., 1959, стр. 163—164.

⁸ Б. Х. Кармышева, Некоторые данные к этногенезу южных и западных районов Узбекистана, — «Краткие сообщения ИЭ», вып. XXVII, 1957, стр. 18—19.

⁹ К. Маркс и Ф. Энгельс, Соч., т. XXI, стр. 488.

¹⁰ С. П. Толстов, Генезис феодализма в кочевых скотоводческих обществах, — «Известия ГАИМК», вып. 103, М.—Л., 1934, стр. 171.

¹¹ Т. А. Жданко, Аульная община у каракалпаков, — «Материалы объединенной научной сессии, посвященной истории Средней Азии и Казахстана в дооктябрьский период»; Ibid., Патриархально-феодалные отношения у полупоседлого населения Средней Азии (доклад), — «Материалы первой Всесоюзной научной конференции востоковедов», Ташкент, 1958, стр. 628—638.

¹² С. П. Толстов, Города гузов (историко-этнографические этюды), — «Советская этнография», № 3, 1947, стр. 89, 100. Ibid., Выступление на научной сессии, посвященной истории Средней

Азии и Казахстана в дооктябрьский период, — «Материал объединенной сессии...», стр. 554—555; В. С. Батраков, Хозяйственные связи кочевых народов... стр. 17 и сл.

¹³ А. Левшин, Описание киргиз-кайсацких или киргиз-кайсацких орд и степей, ч. III, СПб., 1832 г., стр. 199—200.

¹⁴ С. П. Толстов, *op. cit.*, стр. 70—71, 99—100.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, стр. 57—70.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, стр. 75.

¹⁷ С. П. Толстов, Хорезмская археолого-этнографическая экспедиция 1955—1956 гг., — «Советская археология», № I, 1958, стр. 109.

¹⁸ С. П. Толстов, По следам древне-хорезмийской цивилизации, АН СССР, М.—Л., 1948, стр. 56—58, 98—99; *Ibid.*, Варварские племена периферии античного Хорезма по новейшим данным, — «Материалы второго совещания археологов и этнографов Средней Азии», АН СССР, М.—Л., 1959, стр. 143—149.

¹⁹ С. П. Толстов, Работы Хорезмской археолого-этнографической экспедиции АН СССР в 1949—1953 гг., — «Труды Хорезмской экспедиции», вып. I, М., 1959, стр. 81—95.

²⁰ Е. Е. Неразик и М. С. Лапиров-Скобло, Раскопки Барак-Тама I в 1956 г., — «Материалы Хорезмской археологической экспедиции», вып. I, М., 1959, стр. 81—95.

²¹ Е. Е. Неразик, Ю. А. Рапопорт, Куюк-кала, — «Материалы Хорезмской археологической экспедиции», вып. I, 1959, стр. 128—142.

²² С. П. Толстов, А. С. Кесь, Т. А. Жданко, История средневекового Саракамышского озера, — «Вопросы геоморфологии и палеогеографии Азии», Изд. Института географии АН СССР, М., 1955; about irrigation see стр. 54—71.

²³ Б. В. Андрианов и Г. П. Васильев, Опыт археолого-этнографического изучения покинутых туркменских поселений XIX в., — «Известия АН Туркменской ССР», 1957, № 2; Б. В. Андрианов и Г. П. Васильев, Покинутые туркменские поселения XIX в. в Хорезмском оазисе, — «Краткие сообщения Института этнографии АН СССР», вып. XXVIII, 1958; Б. И. Вайнберг, К истории туркменских поселений XIX в. в Хорезме, — СЭ, 1959, № 5.

²⁴ «Труды Хорезмской экспедиции», тт. I (1952), II, III (1958), — «Материалы Хорезмской экспедиции», вып. I (1959).

XXV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

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T. A. ZHDANKO

**SEMI-NOMADISM IN THE HISTORY
OF CENTRAL ASIA AND KAZAKHSTAN**

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Ethnography had long since advanced beyond dividing all the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan into nomadic herdsmen and settled agriculturists, as distinctly opposed to each other. The ancient Central Asian culture was believed to have been created by the agricultural peoples alone, although even they, as many historians and ethnographers assume, borrowed their civilization from Iran, India, China, and the Arab countries rather than created one of their own. The historical mission of the nomad pastoral tribes and peoples who inhabited the vast desert, semi-desert and steppe areas, skirting the Central Asian oases on the North, West, and South-West in a gigantic semi-circle, was usually considered to have been negative and destructive to Central Asian culture, this being due to the ever-recurrent savage armed forays into the agricultural regions of Central Asia by the nomadic «barbarians» who smashed cities and irrigation works, devastated villages and killed their inhabitants.

Some authors were inclined to treat the history of oriental countries as one unbroken process of hostility and «steppe versus oases» warfare¹.

The development of historical science, specifically in the republican academies of sciences and other research establishments of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, enabled a more-searching and comprehensive analysis of the major theoretical problems involved in the history and ethnography of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, and in particular, the history of relationship of the steppe-land tribes and peoples to the settled cultivators. The archaeological investigations have not only proved the independent development of the culture of the settled peoples of Central Asia since the oldest times, but also caused the notorious «theory» of the «savagery» and «want of culture» of the steppe dwellers to crumble away. Important scientific publications dealing with the history of the architecture and the arts of the

Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Turkmens have appeared². The cultural influence the agricultural and steppe-land peoples had on each other is beyond doubt. The strong influence of the specific forms of art of the «barbaric» steppe-land tribes, can be traced up to the oldest times by the archaeological findings from the centres of Central Asian civilization.

It has been put beyond dispute that the «steppe-oasis» relationship has, throughout the centuries, been based on peaceful economic relations. This kind of relations was due to the social division of labour at the birth of class society as nomad herding branched off the combined economy typical of the primitive community system. Nomadic herdsman could not exist in isolation from the agricultural people. Regular trade and barter of livestock products for bread and handicraft goods developed between them from ancient times³. This trade was centred in the cities and large handicraftmen's settlements along the caravan routes. The ruins of these settlements, dating from the antique and medieval times, have now been discovered not only in the oases but also deep in the steppe and desert areas.

It has been found that the negative role of the notorious «predatory» raids of agricultural oases by wandering hordes in the historical process has been greatly exaggerated. On the whole, however, as rightly pointed out by A. Y. Yakubovsky, a noted Soviet authority on the Central Asian medieval history, «wherever agricultural and nomadic communities lived side by side under feudalism, armed forays gave way to peaceful trading relations. The history of Central Asia, Mongolia and China is full of facts to bear this out»⁴.

Yet, it may well be that the most important achievement in the study of the interrelationship between the nomadic and agricultural peoples lies in the scientific differentiation of the earlier conception of the nomadic and settled populations of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, as two ethnographic components, and the identification of a third component as semi-nomadic.

The population of Central Asia and Kazakhstan developed a fairly wide variety of economic practices due to the variety of landscapes typical of these regions. This variety has been preserved to this day.

Economic geographers of this country, while studying the historically-evolved types of economy to provide scien-

tific arguments of the proper territorial distribution of economic activity, identify up to 15 types of farming in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, with only three being stock tending (those of West Kazakhstan, the Kara Kum, the Kizil Kum, and the East Pamirs), — the rest of them being agricultural or mixed, that is combining agriculture with herding or herding with agriculture⁵.

Ethnography has developed its own principle of classifying human economic activity by the so called economic-cultural types, this including not only the economic and geographic characteristics, but also the mode of life and the peculiarities of material culture — types of settlement and abode, means of conveyance, food, etc. — largely determined by the geographic conditions and economic trends⁶.

The economic-cultural types of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, first identified and described by S. P. Tolstov in his course of lectures on Asian ethnography at Moscow University⁷, are now being studied in greater detail by B. V. Andrianov on the basis of the factual evidence of the 19th- the beginning of the 20th centuries. It is being found that the predominant types of economic and cultural activity in six out of the 13 natural-economic zones in the pre-revolutionary period was that of settled agriculturists; in three it was the economic-cultural type of nomadic herdsman, some of whom practised primitive irregular land cultivation, including both irrigated farming (liman and spring-fed irrigation) and dry farming. Finally, the predominant type of economic-cultural activity in another four natural-economic zones was that of semi-nomad agriculturists and herdsmen who practised irregular irrigated (floodland and liman) farming combined with desert pasturing and often fishing. The semi-nomadic population resided on the fringes of the agricultural oases of Khorezm, Bokhara, Tashkent, Murgab, etc., as well as in the lower reaches and deltal plains of the Amu Darya, Syr Darya, Talas, Chu, and other Central Asian rivers. Another semi-nomad group practised dry farming and small-oasis irrigated cultivation in combination with upland herding and pasture farming in the foothills, mountain slopes and table lands of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

In examining the ethnographic characteristics of individual peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan from the standpoint of their economic peculiarities, one finds ample

reason even to-day for saying that each of those numerous peoples engaged in some measure of semi-nomadic economic activity even before they were joined to Russia — the fact which exerted great influence on the progress of agriculture and settlement. It was practised even by the most ancient Tadjik agriculturists (for instance, the Tadjik-Khardury and others in the Baysun and Kuhistan mountains of South Uzbekistan) ⁸, and by some of the Uzbeks (the so-called semi-nomadic groups in North Khorezm, the Khanate of Bokhara, Samarkand region, etc.). It was also common to fairly large sections of the nomad and settled Kazakh populations (in the Semirechye (Seven Rivers), in the Irtysh Valley, on the banks of the Zaisan, in the middle and lower reaches of the Syr Darya, on the northern fringes of the Khorezm Oasis, and in the North-Western regions — the Irghiz, Turgai, Emba basins, etc.) and the Kirghiz in the Ferghana Valley, the Issyk-Kul depression, as well as in the Chu and Talas river basins. The same type of economic activity was the inherent practice of the Turkmens, who combined cattle breeding and agriculture from the earliest times and divided themselves into the *charva* and *chomur*, and was particularly typical of the Kara-Kalpaks who had it more deeply rooted as they retained many elements of the combined pastoral-fishing-agricultural type of economy of the most ancient tribes on the lands surrounding the Aral Sea.

The latest research findings may be said to be differentiating the nomadic world, as it were, with the specific features and historical role of the semi-nomadic populations becoming more and more clearly defined. There is a wealth of factual evidence to bear out the accuracy of the well-known statement by Karl Marx that a general relationship between the settled life of some sections of all the Oriental tribes and the continued nomadism of other sections may be traced back to the dawn of history ⁹.

Ethnography, as it stands to-day, no longer admits of a schematic division of the population of Central Asia and Kazakhstan into «pure» nomads and settled agriculturists. «Elements of settled life and agriculture seem to have always been present in nomad herding» ¹⁰.

The following can be considered the main ethnographic features common to various semi-nomadic groups of Central Asia and Kazakhstan: the combined type of economy —

the combination of poorly developed extensive irrigated cultivation and dry farming with cattle-tending, and in some areas, with fishing; the character of the economy is natural and its marketability is lower than that of nomadic herdsmen who easily travelled with their herds over vast tracts of territory to oases and trading cities. The settlement is unstable, the main type of dwelling being the yurt, often coupled with dwellings typical of the settled population, and their household utensils have much in common with those of nomadic peoples. The same is true of the diet (the kinds of dairy products and the ways of making them). Carpet-making was a typical kind of domestic craft everywhere. A feature of public and family life was the preservation, at least as durable as in the case of the nomads, of the survivals of tribal division and the patriarchal mode of life. The aul communities, both cattle-breeding and agricultural, retained most tangible elements of the clan community. The forms of exploitation in the 19th and the early 20th centuries were patriarchal-feudal¹¹.

By their general social and economic standards, the semi-nomadic population of those days rather seldom represented a transitional stage between the backward nomads and the oasis dwellers. In most cases the population with such an economic structure and mode of life was at the same stage of evolution as the nomadic herdsmen, or even lagged behind them in many respects, since even long before the 19th and the early 20th centuries, specialized nomadic commodity stock breeding as a branch of economy was mostly the privilege of the bays, manaps and other well-to-do nomads¹².

In spite of the many common ethnographic features, the semi-nomadic population of Central Asia and Kazakhstan is heterogeneous and divided into two large groups, according to its historical and ethnographic characteristics. The first one comprises the nomadic herdsmen who moved from the steppes and settled in the civilized oasis region and the adjacent areas. It is this particular group that is usually implied by references to the semi-nomadic population, for this is the one that is known best from historical literature. Large and small tribal groups, who had come from the neighbouring steppe-lands, resided among the settled cultivators ever since the oldest times. In many instances those were the conquerors who settled on the

already colonised irrigated lands and gradually learned the irrigation and crop-farming methods of the surrounding population, thus taking to settled life (e. g. the Uzbeks of North Khorezm). Other ethnographic groups were in process of settlement for several centuries. They were still semi-nomadic until recently. These groups include the Uzbeks whom we know as descendants of the medieval Dashedi Qipchaq tribes (Lokais, Qipchaqs, Durmens, etc.) and even of the more ancient Turkic tribes (the ethnographic groups of Turks, Qarluqs, Barlases, etc.).

By their mode of life and general ethnographic characteristics they markedly differed from the Uzbeks — descendants of the ancient population of the oases (sarts) and retained many nomadic traditions in their culture and life.

To this first group may also be referred the Kazakh poor, who settled on the oasis fringes with little cattle or none at all in their possession and who had been in the process of settlement for just a few decades by the time of the October Revolution. Those were the so-called «Jataks» who took to agriculture as a result of the drastic differentiation in the Kazakh nomadic aul mostly in the 19th and the early 20th centuries.

The second, major and more numerous semi-nomadic group comprises most of the Turkmens, Kara-Kalpaks, Uzbeks of the Aral Sea area and a portion of the Syr Darya Kazakhs — descendants of the tribes and peoples, for whom this economico-cultural type was predominant throughout their history — in ancient times and in the early and late Middle Ages. Those were the inhabitants of the deserts and steppe-lands, the lake areas and the steppe river banks, the vast desert-like delta plains. They may have inherited the archaic traditions of the combined agricultural herding and fishing economy from the local dwellers of the Bronze Age. From the earliest time they have been the tillers of the soil as well as herdsmen and fishermen. They knew the art of reclaiming marsh land, the ways of using all possible water resources for irrigated farming — delta streams and lakes, river floods and precipitation. The natural and economic conditions in the areas of their habitation were rigorous and changing, and, for all their powers of adaptability, their agriculture was unstable and caused them to shift constantly from area to area; «agri-

culture does not make them a settled people», — Levshin wrote about the Kazakhs of the Syr Darya basin in the early 19th century¹³. Whenever faced by oft-recurring natural calamities (floods, changed courses of deltal streams, dried-up lakes, etc.) those wandering tillers moved, with their yourts and other belongings, to other places or switched over, in the main, to other occupations — herding and fishing, which were just as traditional with them and just as well-learned from early times.

The history of the Turkmens, Kara-Kalpaks and Syr Darya Kazakhs abounds in examples attesting to the flexibility of their economy and to their ability to change from agriculture to cattle breeding, or the other way round, whenever necessary.

A distinctive feature of the semi-nomadic peoples' cattle-breeding was the predominance of large-horned cattle in their herds, while millet was an important item of their crop-farming. The áraba was the means of conveyance in the Aral Sea area and so were the camel and the horse in the deserts. The sea-side Turkmen and Kara-Kalpak tribes developed their own type of fishing boat.

This semi-nomadic group, with its primordial combined system of economy, is of the greatest interest in view of its special ethnographic peculiarity. The main area where it was formed in Central Asia was the Aral Sea region and North-East Turkmenia. In the Aral Sea area, which has been the object of exploration by the Khorezm archaeological and ethnographic expedition of the Soviet Academy of Sciences for over twenty years, this economic-cultural type was first discovered by S. P. Tolstov, who described it in his work «The Ghuzz Cities»¹⁴. In this treatise he collated the latest archaeological findings and observations from the examination of the sites of the ancient towns of Kuyuk-Kala and Kuyuk-Kesken-Kala in the Syr Darya estuary, near Kazalinsk¹⁵, with the information furnished by Al-Idrisi, Mahmoud of Kashgar and other Oriental authors of the 11th century. He arrived at the conclusion that the predominant mode of economic activity of the Aral Turkic tribes of the early Middle Ages, just as that of their ancestors — the ancient tribes who inhabited that territory, was combined and their way of life semi-nomadic. The Oghuz, for example, had large fortified fixed quarters along with their portable dwellings.

After checking his findings against the information available about other «nomadic» peoples of the same epoch, S. P. Tolstow postulated a close analogy between the economic structure of Aral Oghuz and Khazar semi-nomadic agriculture combined with fishing, the Khakass (Yenisey-Kyrghyz) economy of irrigated farming, etc. He finds the Kara-Kalpak pattern of economy to be the most characteristic ethnographic survival of that ancient economic structure in Central Asia¹⁶.

It is no longer the written sources alone, but also the abundant archaeological, historical and ethnographic evidence now available that provide cogent proof of the predominance of semi-nomadism among most of the steppe-land tribes of the Aral Sea area and the historical continuity of this mode of life and economy in that region. The traditions of primitive combined economy of the Bronze Age were passed on to the «barbaric» semi-nomadic Sako-Massaget tribes of antiquity — the exponents of Kokcha-Tengiz culture¹⁷ of the basins of the lower reaches of the Akcha Darya and the ancient Jany Darya — *appasiaks*, who used to build their own type of fortresses, settlements, and majestic sepulchral structures (Chirik-Rabat, Babish-Mulla, Balandy)¹⁸, and also to the Tokhari who created what is known as Jety-Asar culture on the banks of the Kuvan Darya, distinguished by its big communal houses with cattle and horse bones inserted in their walls for reinforcement. These houses have been found to contain numerous hoards of millet, grain crushers, fish-hooks, fish-net sinkers¹⁹.

The memorials of the Chionits-Ephthalits, excavated by the expedition, are characteristic of the subsequent chronological period — the first half and the middle of the first millenium A. D. Among these are the headquarters of a tribal chief — the Barak-Tam Castle (late 4th and early 5th centuries), made of adobe, but with the design of the floors, ceilings and the central hall layout imitating the nomadic yurt structure. In the castle there were found some fragments of a teaselled rug of a pattern and texture very much like those of the carpets made by the Kara-Kalpaks and the Kazakhs. An indication of cattle tending having dominated the economic pattern of the Barak-Tam area is provided by the architectural technique of separating arch bricks with the bones of domestic animals instead of

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by ceramic fragments, while the role of agriculture is shown by the traces of numerous settlements, fields and irrigation works over large takyr in the neighbourhood of this memorial²⁰.

The expedition has studied a number of other memorials of the Chionit-Ephthalit tribes, including the Kuyuk-kala in the Kushkana-tau mountains where round brick-works have been found, apart from brick dwellings, on which the yourts must have been fixed. The finds excavated prove cattle-breeding, agriculture and handicrafts to have been the local occupations. But the ceramics there, just as in the Barak-Tam settlements, are not of handicraftsmen's making alone. There are many fragments of rough moulding with characteristic archaic drawn ornaments, going back to the Bronze Age, or with typically nomadic patterns — the stylized ram hornlike scrolls, etc.²¹.

In many sites of ancient settlements of those times the Chionit-Ephthalit layers are superimposed by later ones associated with the Turkic semi-nomadic steppe-land tribes of the Middle Ages. In addition to the fortified «Ghuzz Cities» (Yangikent, Jend, Kuyuk-Kala and Kuyuk-Kesken-Kala near Kazalinsk), the expedition has, in the past two years, discovered and investigated large Oghuz village settlements in the Jany Darya basin and found evidence of their agriculture having been combined with cattle breeding and handicraft industry (Irkibay, Murzaly, etc.).

The 12—14th century settlement, discovered south of the Uigarak mound in 1953, is of the greatest interest. This seems to be the ruins of a small handicraft centre with fragments of brick houses and traces of streets. Right outside this settlement, there are well-preserved canals and fields, and over most of the fields in place of the castle estate ruins, typical of medieval Khorezm, one can clearly see round yurt enclosures and various subsidiary premises of the semi-nomad agriculturists, the Oghuz Turks, whose typical pottery can be found on the town site and in the fields.

About as much factual material on the semi-nomadic peoples has been collected by the expedition's archaeological and ethnographic parties which are studying the history of the economy and life of the descendants of the ancient and medieval Aral Sea tribes — Turkmens, Karakalpaks, the northern Uzbeks of Khorezm, etc. They devoted

several years to studying the sites of the dwelling places of the Turkmens of the Khidir-eli tribe of late medieval times (15th — 17th centuries) in Sarykamish who developed their own type of irrigation system of adobe aqueducts with troughs and water lifts. They built them down the slopes of the Sarykamish depression to bring to their fields the water from the fresh water lakes which existed there in those days. The objects found in the fields include tent rings, fragments of pottery-making, iron-smelting and bread-baking furnaces, millstones and other household effects of the semi-nomadic communities ²².

Other objects under study are later (18th and early 19th century) relics of the material culture of semi-nomad herdsmen (Turkmens and Kara-Kalpaks, found on the ruins of their settlements deserted because of the desiccation of the rivers and the canals which once irrigated their fields and now pass through the desert areas near the dried-up beds of the Daryalyk, Jany Darya and other rivers. These later memorials are being studied by combined archaeological and ethnographic parties ²³.

Finally, the research carried out for many years by the expedition's Kara-Kalpak, Turkmen, and North Uzbek ethnographic parties among the present population of the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and Tashauz Region of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic produced abundant evidence of the peculiarities of semi-nomad life and detailed accounts of aul communities and individual families which existed in the 19th and the early 20th centuries and practised a combined type of economy whose traditions have endured there due to the particular natural and historical conditions. The results of most of these studies have been published ²⁴.

The work carried out in the Kungrad, Takhtakupyr and Muinak districts of the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, on the Urga, in Karajar and on the islands of the Aral Sea revealed much similarity between the economy and life of the local Kazakhs and the Kara-Kalpaks and the Northern Uzbeks of Khorezm.

A particularly close affinity of the mode of life and culture has been established between the Kara-Kalpaks and the Alim Kazakhs.

For all the abundance and cogency of the latest archaeological and ethnographic evidence, the important

problem of semi-nomadism certainly requires a further closer study not only in the Aral Sea area, dealt with by the Khorezm expedition, but elsewhere in Central Asia and Kazakhstan as well.

¹ В. И. Масальский, Туркестанский край, — «Россия» под ред. В. П. Семенова-Тян-Шанского, т. XIX, СПб., 1913, стр. 273.

² See, for example: А. Х. Маргулан, Из истории городов и строительного искусства древнего Казахстана, АН Казахской ССР, Алма-Ата, 1950; А. Маргулан, Т. Басенов, М. Мендикулов, Архитектура Казахстана, Каз. Гос. изд., Алма-Ата, 1959; А. Н. Бернштам, Архитектурные памятники Киргизии, АН СССР, М.—Л., 1950; Г. А. Пугаченкова, Пути развития архитектуры южного Туркменистана поры рабовладения и феодализма, — «Труды ЮТАКЭ», т. VI, М., 1958; В. А. Левина, Д. М. Овезов, Г. А. Пугаченкова, Архитектура туркменского народного жилища, — «Труды ЮТАКЭ», т. III, М., 1953, and others.

³ «Материалы объединенной научной сессии, посвященной истории Средней Азии и Казахстана в дооктябрьский период», АН Уз. ССР, Ташкент, 1955, выступления на сессии В. С. Батракова (стр. 78), А. Н. Бернштама (стр. 111—112), С. П. Толстова (стр. 554—555); В. С. Батраков, Хозяйственные связи кочевых народов с Россией, Средней Азией и Китаем, САГУ, Ташкент, 1958.

⁴ Б. Д. Греков, А. Ю. Якубовский, Золотая орда и ее падение, М., 1950, стр. 28.

⁵ Ю. Г. Саушкин, Географические очерки природы и сельскохозяйственная деятельность населения в различных районах Советского Союза, М., 1947, стр. 13—16, 273—421.

⁶ М. Г. Левин и Н. Н. Чебоксаров, Хозяйственно-культурные типы и историко-этнографические области, — «Советская этнография», 1955, № 4, стр. 4—5.

⁷ S. P. Tolstov's classification see in «Очерки общей этнографии», вып. III, Азиатская часть СССР, Изд. Института этнографии АН СССР, М., 1959, стр. 163—164.

⁸ Б. Х. Кармышев, Некоторые данные к этногенезу южных и западных районов Узбекистана, — «Краткие сообщения ИЭ», вып. XXVII, 1957, стр. 18—19.

⁹ К. Маркс и Ф. Энгельс, Соч., т. XXI, стр. 488.

¹⁰ С. П. Толстов, Генезис феодализма в кочевых скотоводческих обществах, — «Известия ГАИМК», вып. 103, М.—Л., 1934, стр. 171.

¹¹ Т. А. Жданко, Аульная община у каракалпаков, — «Материалы объединенной научной сессии, посвященной истории Средней Азии и Казахстана в дооктябрьский период»; Ibid., Патриархально-феодалные отношения у полуседлого населения Средней Азии (доклад), — «Материалы первой Всесоюзной научной конференции востоковедов», Ташкент, 1958, стр. 628—638.

¹² С. П. Толстов, Города гузов (историко-этнографические этюды), — «Советская этнография», № 3, 1947, стр. 89, 100. Ibid., Выступление на научной сессии, посвященной истории Средней

Азии и Казахстана в дооктябрьский период, — «Материал объединенной сессии...», стр. 554—555; В. С. Батраков, Хозяйственные связи кочевых народов... стр. 17 и сл.

¹³ А. Левшин, Описание киргиз-кайсацких или-киргиз-кайсацких орд и степей, ч. III, СПб., 1832 г., стр. 199—200.

¹⁴ С. П. Толстов, *op. cit.*, стр. 70—71, 99—100.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, стр. 57—70.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, стр. 75.

¹⁷ С. П. Толстов, Хорезмская археолого-этнографическая экспедиция 1955—1956 гг., — «Советская археология», № I, 1958, стр. 109.

¹⁸ С. П. Толстов, По следам древне-хорезмийской цивилизации, АН СССР, М.—Л., 1948, стр. 56—58, 98—99; *Ibid.*, Варварские племена периферии античного Хорезма по новейшим данным, — «Материалы второго совещания археологов и этнографов Средней Азии», АН СССР, М.—Л., 1959, стр. 143—149.

¹⁹ С. П. Толстов, Работы Хорезмской археолого-этнографической экспедиции АН СССР в 1949—1953 гг., — «Труды Хорезмской экспедиции», вып. I, М., 1959, стр. 81—95.

²⁰ Е. Е. Неразик и М. С. Лапиров-Скобло, Раскопки Барак-Тама I в 1956 г., — «Материалы Хорезмской археологической экспедиции», вып. I, М., 1959, стр. 81—95.

²¹ Е. Е. Неразик, Ю. А. Рапопорт, Куюк-кала, — «Материалы Хорезмской археологической экспедиции», вып. I, 1959, стр. 128—142.

²² С. П. Толстов, А. С. Кесь, Т. А. Жданко, История средневекового Саракамьшского озера, — «Вопросы геоморфологии и палеогеографии Азии», Изд. Института географии АН СССР, М., 1955; about irrigation see стр. 54—71.

²³ Б. В. Андрианов и Г. П. Васильев, Опыт археолого-этнографического изучения покинутых туркменских поселений XIX в., — «Известия АН Туркменской ССР», 1957, № 2; Б. В. Андрианов и Г. П. Васильев, Покинутые туркменские поселения XIX в. в Хорезмском оазисе, — «Краткие сообщения Института этнографии АН СССР», вып. XXVIII, 1958; Б. И. Вайнберг, История туркменских поселений XIX в. в Хорезме, — СЭ, 1959, № 5.

²⁴ «Труды Хорезмской экспедиции», тт. I (1952), II, III (1958), — «Материалы Хорезмской экспедиции», вып. I (1959).

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The peoples of Transcaucasia and Central Asia make one free and happy family of nations with the other peoples of the Soviet Union, their peculiar culture is deeply rooted in the past. In Soviet times they have been granted every opportunity of virtually universal advancement of their national economy, culture, and administration.

The peoples of Transcaucasia and Central Asia established their national Socialist Republics: Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia in Transcaucasia; and Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Turkmenia in Central Asia.

In the four decades of Soviet Power, these once backward outskirts of the Russian Empire with the aid of all the other Soviet peoples have emerged as republics of powerful industries, mechanised land-farming based on the collective principles of economic organisation, advanced culture, national in form and Socialist in essence.

Such key industries as mining, metal-making, machine-building as well as chemical industries are making a good progress; along with further development of the old industrial and cultural centres, new industrial towns are springing up, such as Rustavi, Sumgait, and Temir-Tau seats of metallurgical and chemical industries in Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Kazakhstan, Chirchik (centre of electrochemical production in Uzbekistan), and last but not least, Nebitdag (the largest in Turkmenia oil wells and refineries). Powerful hydro-electric plants have been commissioned: Khranges in Georgia, Mingechaur in Azerbaijan, Sevanges in Armenia and construction have been started on the sites of new high-capacity power plants (Sulakges in Daghestan). Big strides have also been made in agriculture. In Kazakhstan alone in the last five years 23,000,000 ha of most fertile virgin

lands have been raised. As a result, Kazakhstan now places second in the USSR in grain production. Uzbekistan today is the principal supplier of cotton in the Soviet Union, her cotton yield rising from 518,000 metric tones in 1913 to 3,163,000 tones in 1959. Tajikistan has the world's biggest cotton yield rate. Georgia has developed on a large-scale tea- and citrus-growing. Kirghizia is famous for her animal husbandry. Wine-growing in Armenia and Azerbaijan and Astrakhan-sheep breeding in Turkmenia are well-known throughout the world.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government take constant care of the wellbeing and culture of the people. Owing to that care the welfare of the peoples of Transcaucasia and Central Asia is very high.

The capitals of these Republics: Tbilisi, Baku, Yerevan, Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Ashkhabad, Stalinabad, and Frunze, once out-of-the-way, neglected towns of old Russia, have now become major industrial and cultural cities. Thus, Stalinabad, capital of Tajikistan with a population of 300,000 was formerly Dyushambe Village, an administrative unit of the Gissar Bekdom, Bukhara Khanate, Yerevan is also completely unrecognizable, the capital of Armenia, a well-built city in modern style retaining the best traditions of national Armenian architecture. The social services are constantly improved, the number of clubs, libraries, theatres, cinemas, gardens and parks is growing. New rest-houses are being built for the Soviet citizen to spend his holidays in. The resthouses and sanatoriums, the best of them being located on the Black Sea Coast and Issyk-Kul Lake, belong to the trade unions.

A great care is taken in the Republics of Transcaucasia and Central Asia of public health services which

are free everywhere in the Soviet Union. The local network of medical establishments and hospitals have been increased by far. The Soviet Republics of Transcaucasia and Central Asia are now countries of universal literacy. All the children go to school where instruction is conducted mainly in the national languages. All boys and girls after school may enter colleges and universities not only in their Republic but in any of the Republics of the USSR. The network of higher educational establishments has been greatly expanded in Transcaucasia and Central Asia. Most of the Republics had no such establishments forty years ago and now they are most prominent seats of learning with many a technical college and university. The old universities are also expanded. Thus, up to 1920 Uzbekistan had no higher educational establishments and now their number is 32; in 1913 the Tbilisi University had only 3 faculties, 500 students and 18 professors and teachers whereas in 1959 it comprised already 11 stationary faculties and 2 - by correspondence; the total number of students was 7,500, of professors and teachers - 573. Besides the universities, each of the Republics has specialized institutions of higher learning such as polytechnic agricultural and medical colleges. They train young specialists of local nationality. Georgia has 38 graduates per thousand of population.

The woman now enjoys full equality with man both in public life and at work.

With the growth of national specialists and of research programs all the Republics of Transcaucasia and Central Asia established Academies of Sciences of their own with numerous research centres. They work in close contact with the USSR Academy of Sciences and all-Union research establishments undertaking joint projects and receiving

much assistance from them in training the native-born young scientists.

In recent years an ever-greater number of research works have been published by the Academies of the Union Republics. We display here only the major ones which saw print in 1957-1960, and dealt with the history of local national cultures and also of other oriental countries. In the Republics of Transcaucasia and Central Asia new art emerges and music develops inheriting the best of the old tradition; the opera and ballet theatres produce new performances; and national troupes of singers and dancers are warmly met by the spectators.

All genres of literature such as poetry, fiction and drama are represented by gifted works which are well-known not only in the Soviet Union but also abroad.

Splendid films made in the studios of Transcaucasia and Central Asia enjoy great success throughout the USSR.

In the realm of fine arts great accomplishments, indeed, are the new pictures by the eminent artists, numerous drawings and articles of craftsmanship rooted in folk-art. Each of the Republics has developed its own Soviet national architecture.

The exhibits displayed, of course, cannot fully represent the economy and culture of the Republics of Transcaucasia and Central Asia. They merely show episodes from their lives to illustrate how these Republics advance together with the other Soviet nations towards their happy future.

We also display the materials of the archaeological and ethnographical studies of the Republics.

The main objective of the archaeological research has become the study of the history of society from the dawn of civilization to late feudalism. This research has led to the discovery of numerous remains to throw a new light

on the history of the peoples of Transcaucasia and Central Asia and their culture. Some of these finds are on the display.

During the last 15 years early paleolithic remains (Chelles, Acheul, Moustier) have been found in Transcaucasia. Camps of ancient man and workshops for making stone implements were uncovered on The Aragats Mountain and along the Razdan River, Armenia, The excavations in Georgia (Yashtukh, Kudaro, etc.) enabled a discovery of early-paleolithic layers. Moustier-type implements were dug out at Kazakh (Azerbaijan) and in Daghestan. Meanwhile studies were carried on of the upper paleolithic culture in the caves of West Georgia.

The most curious evidence of Stone Age is the images on the rocks discovered in Kobystan (Azerbaijan) Their age is determined by the archeological data obtained during the excavations of the rocks.

Also in Transcaucasia was discovered a rich culture of the early farming and cattle-breeding settlements of the neolithic age dating as far back as the IV-th millennium B.C. Such settlements were discovered in Shengavit and Shresh-Blur (Armenia), on the Kyul-tepe Hill, in Mingechaur and Nagorny Karabakh (Azerbaijan), Trialeti and Urbniskh (Georgia), Chumuk-Inits (Daghestan), and in many other parts. This culture occurs not only in Central Transcaucasia but also in some areas of Daghestan and the North Caucasus, and further to the south, in the north-eastern part of the Middle East around the Van and the Urmia lakes). On the basis of this early farming and cattle-breeding culture a bronze culture emerged whose oldest remains date from the end of the III-rd - the beginning of the II-nd millennium B.C. Cattle-breeding become predominant in the economy of the peri-

od; the rich cattle-breeding tribes established permanent ties with the countries of the Middle East, Iran and their North-Caucasian counterparts.

The mounds of tribal chiefs excavated at Trialeti, Georgia, are rather prominent remains of the middle of the II-d millenium B.C. It is in them that the splendid works of ancient art were found: painted ceramics, gold and silver goblets, jewelry, weapons. The silver goblet (it is on display) with the pictures of sacrifices is of special note in that it points out to the association with Hettite art. A rich mound of the same period was made study of in Kirovakan, Armenia. It contained a gold cup bearing the images of lions; silver vessels, and most typical weapons.

The ordinary mounds of the period were studied in many parts of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. The rich burial mounds discovered at Ichashen Village on the Sevan Lake Coast in Armenia belong to the XIII-XII-th centuries B.C. They represent a transition from the Trialeti-type culture to the advanced bronze culture. The mounds contained well-preserved wooden vehicles, bronze weapons, black vessels bearing pressed-in designs filled with white and black paints. Of tremendous significance indeed are the bronze models of chariots of ancient-oriental type which are also on the display.

The advanced-bronze culture is amply represented by the remains studied in many parts of Transcaucasia, that is in the vast burial ground at Mtskheta, Sachkhera, Khovla and Gornaya Racha (Georgia), on the slopes of the Aragats and the Sevan Lake Coast (Armenia), in Khojaly, Mingechaur, and Kazakh (Azerbaijan), and finally, in Verkhny Gunab Village (Deghestan).

The excavations of the intertings of the period yield numerous bronze weapons, which are often valuable pieces of craftsmanship. This leads to the conclusion that there were constant inter-tribal strife and struggle over cattle and pastures going on in conditions of the desintegrating tribal system. The settlements of the period in many parts of Transcaucasia take on the form of fortresses surrounded by walls laid of huge stone slabs.

The connections with the neighbouring countries are at the time as strong as ever, notable so with Assyria. In the mounds at Khojaly Village (Azerbaijan) were found Assyrian articles (a bead with a cuneiform inscription by Adadnirary, the Assyrian tsar, and samples of glazed ceramics. The ties of Transcaucasia with the countries of the ancient East were particularly close at the outset of the VIII-th century and in the VII-th century B.C. when the areas of the Ararat Valley, Sevan and Aragats were incorporated into the Urartu State, one of the greatest powers of the Middle East. In the outskirts of Yerevan, Armenia, systematic excavations are underway of two ancient fortresses: Erebuni (Arinberd) where the ruins of temples were unearthed and also the palace of Agrishti I, the Urartu Tsar, with vestiges of fine mural painting; and Teyshebaini (Karmir-Blur) which yielded numerous data elucidating the culture and economy of the Urartu State. While excavating Karmir-Blur splendid pieces of the Urartu art were uncovered accurately dated by cuneiform inscriptions with the names of the tsars: some of them are displayed at the exhibition.

With the fall of Assyria and Urartu independent

states of the Transcaucasian peoples emerged: Armenian and Georgian Kingdoms characterized both by their own distinctive culture and the cultural heritage of the Ancient East. Thus Azerbaijan bears the features of ancient kingdoms of Mydia and Maneya. At that time Transcaucasia was in close relations with Akhamenidic Iran which can be traced in the Akhamenidic architecture monuments at Arin-berde (apadana), in the outskirts of Kazakh in Azerbaijan (a columned edifice of Persepolis design) and in the rich "Akhalgori treasure" in Georgia containing fine samples of jewelry of the local style and also influenced by the Akhemenic art. The culture of the ancient Kolkhida and Iberia Kingdoms in Georgia are represented by outstanding monuments - tombs of the Pitiakhshes (Rulers) of Mtskheta (Armazi) containing abundant data: gold and silver objects, jewelry, inscriptions in the Aramaic writing. These outstanding archaeological findings displayed at the Congress, are descriptive of the ties the Georgian Kingdom had both with the Mediterranean countries and Iran.

The Garni Fortress, Armenia, has long been known to contain the ruins of an antique temple. In addition, in 1958 the remnants of a bath-house were dug out dating from the II-d century B.C. with a marvellous mozaic floor bearing the images of the antique mythology characters. Numerous data were also collected in the Garni burial ground to prove the associations between the local culture and the countries of the Middle East and Mediterranean.

The Azerbaijan archaeologists made a thorough study of the monuments of the Albanian Kingdom. While excavating at Mingechaur they discovered excellent samples of

the Albanian writing, they also studied the Albanian temples of the V-VI-th centuries. No less valuable data were obtained while studying the medieval towns of Transcaucasia. Thus, in Georgia excavations were carried out of the following towns: Dmanisi, Urbnisi, Bichvinta, Ujarma; Dvin, the ancient capital, and the Anberd Castle on the Aragats - in Armenia; Staraya Gyanja, Baylakan (Oren-kala), Kabala - in Azerbaijan; and Urtsekhi - in Daghestan. The excavations discovered high urban culture of the ancient centres of artisanship and commerce in medieval Transcaucasia. The archaeological data collected indicate not only the high standard of local culture but also close commercial ties of Transcaucasia in the VII-XIII-th centuries with Iran, the Middle East, and Byzantium. The excavations of the medieval towns yielded valuable collections of artistic glazed ceramics, glass-ware, jewelry.

Great pains were also taken to study and restore the medieval architectural monuments: the Bagrat Temple in Kutaisi, Geguti, and Bolnisi (Georgia); Avan, Zvarnots (Armenia); the Derbent Wall (Daghestan). A systematic study and restoration of the monuments of mosque architecture were undertaken in Azerbaijan (mosque in Barda and Karadaglyar, the Palace of the Shirvan-Shakhs in Baku). A due attention was also given to the monumental mural paintings, the best samples of which were made life-size replicas. Nor were neglected the remains of splendid miniature paintings, ancient manuscripts, jewelry, chasings, and enamel work. In all the three Republics of Transcaucasia numismatics gained much success; the rich collections of ancient coins were piled up and thoroughly studied, beginning with kol-khidkas of the VI-th century B.C. which proved a very

important historical source . Many papers were written on epigraphics: Aramaic, Greek, Latin, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijan Arabic, and Persian inscriptions. Ancient texts were published extensively ranging from the Urartu cuneiform inscriptions to the archive documents of the early IX-th century.

The archaeological studies conducted in Central Asia in the last 30 years have virtually upset our concepts of the history of that area. New paleolithic samples have been uncovered. The Cave Teshik-tash Camp in Uzbekistan where a grave of a Neanderthal boy was found in the Mouster layer is of particular significance. The vestiges of the middle and upper-paleolithic settlements and camps are being studied near Krasnovodsk, in the Pamir, and Southern and Eastern Kazakhstan.

An extensive study has been undertaken of the neolithic monuments characterized, so far as Central Asia is concerned, by a greater multifunctionality which may be attributed to the peculiar geography of the area. One of the most interesting camps of food-gatherers, hunters, and fisherman is Janbas-kala 4 descriptive of the so-called "Keltiminaric culture". Along with land-farming, cattle-breeding still occupies a substantial place in their economy as a whole, which is especially true of that period in Kazakhstan. The principal occupation of these tribes known to the archaeologist under the common name of "andronov culture", was semi-nomadic cattle-breeding and primitive land-farming. The ceramics of that culture lavishly ornamented with geometrical designs are displayed at the Congress.

Further to the south, in the foothills of the Kopetdag land-farming was developed earlier. Thus, in Turkmenia the Jeytun Settlement was uncovered consisting of small dwellings which date from the V-th milleni-

um B.C.

The aeneolithic culture of the IV-III centuries B.C. is vividly characterized by the settlements of the Kopetdag Foothills: Anau, Karadepe, Namazga-depe, Altyn-depe, and Ulug-depe.

Land-farming with resort to artificial irrigation constituted the backbone of economy in these settlements. The typical feature of their culture was lavishly painted ceramics ornamented by geometrical designs and outlines of animals: beasts of prey and goats. The ceramics often reveals a relation of the aeneolithic and early-bronze cultures to the respective ancient settlements of Iran, Afganistan, Pakistan, and India.

Throughout its history Central Asia is characterized by coexistence of land-farming and cattle-breeding communities and by their inter-relations. The vast expanses of Steppe Kazakhstan and Northern Kirghizia and also mountainous regions were areas of highly-developed nomadic cattle-breeding. Nomadic cattle-breeding becomes here predominant form of economy. Whereas in the valleys of Central Asia land-farming based on artificial irrigation prevails.

The Khorezm Expedition is greatly interested both in the networks of ancient irrigation, a matter of life and death for the ancient countries of the East, and in the relics of the nomads connected with land-farming civilizations.

The development of the settled land-farming tribes of Baktria, Margiana, and Khorezm in the middle and second half of the I-st millenium B.C. results in slave states being formed. In the southern regions of Central Asia the state of Baktria comes into being; the data on its settlements are displayed at the Congress. Koy-

-Krylgan-kala, a site of an ancient town in Khorezm dates from the IV-th century B.C. - I-st A.D. where a monumental building was uncovered, which, according to the explorers, used to be a mausoleum and temple of the dynastic cult of the Khorezm tsars. Large-scale excavations were carried out on the site of Nisa, the capital of the ancient Parthian state. The ruins of a temple and palace with numerous out-buildings turned up as a result. The Nisa ruins contained, among other things, valuable pieces of art dating from the II-d century B.C.: a stone statue of a goddess combining in itself the antique and local styles and ivory ritons (drinking vessels) lavishly carved with images of men and animals. A great many clay crocks were found in the wine cellars which bore Aramaic inscriptions fixing the time of receipt and issue of the wine.

The supreme religion of the settled agricultural tribes of the period was Zoroastrianism, hence their temples of fire and sanctuaries were of rectangular and round design (on the plane) they had also mounds with the bones of the dead buried in ossuaries. The ossuaries decorated not only with ornaments but also with pieces of sculpture are on display at the Congress.

The art of the first centuries is vividly illustrated by a sculptural marble cornice found in Ayrtam Village, Uzbekistan. The cornice bearing sculptures of musicians which are located between acanthuses may be held as a typical example of the combination of the antique and local, Central-Asian styles.

Toprak-kala, a site of an ancient town in Khorezm, is most illustrative of the Kushan culture, the palace of the town having a hall decorated with sculptures of

the Khorezm tsars. The archives recorded in Aramaic and found in one of the Toprak-kala buildings are indeed a major scientific discovery.

The recent Soviet archaeological explorations bring new light on the culture of the peoples of the Central Asia of the V-VII-th centuries. The ruins of a palace in Varakhsh (Bukhara Region, Uzbekistan) may well be claimed to be representative of that period. Its walls were plated with intricately carved and covered with alabaster multicolour mural paintings of temporal and religious nature. Marvellous indeed are the samples of painted clay and wooden sculpture round on the site of an ancient town of Pyanjikent (Tajikistan). No less interesting so far as ancient art is concerned, are the paintings of Balalyk-tape (Termezek Region, Uzbekistan). The monuments of the Central-Asian art of the V-VII-th centuries show it to be related to that of the neighbouring countries and, above all, of Afghanistan and India.

These associations of the culture of the peoples of Central Asia with India and China can be traced in such monuments as Buddhist temples. The Buddhist temple on the site of an ancient town in Ak-Beshim (Kirghizia) is of particular interest in this connection.

The IX-XII centuries are characterized by the development of feudal relations which implies the growth of urban communities, expansion of craftsmanship, and both of home and foreign trade, as well as of cultural ties. On the other hand, civil and cult architecture also come to the fore. The acceptance of Islam as the supreme religion must have been responsible for the emergence of such architectural monuments as mezsars, mosques, and medresses. Their builders basically follow the patterns and techniques elaborated by the

predesessors while erecting structures of raw bricks. To mention just a few of the structures still standing; mazars of Abu Said in Meana (1049), Abul Fazl in Serakhs (XI century); the tomb of Yarty Gumbes (1098), mazar of Sultan Sanjar (XII century), Uzgent Mausoleums (XI-XII centuries), mazar of Aysha-bibi (XI century), tower of Buran (XI century), etc. Wood carving continues to make a headway as is clearly proved by the various panels in the Mosque of Ashta (XI century). Paintings and carvings on the alabaster plates of the palace walls do not decline at that period either, to which testifies the fragment of an alabaster mikhrab uncovered on the site of Khulbuk, the capital of Khuttal.

The pottery is the product of artisans and notable for the gammut and brightness of the paints contained in its glazing. The samples of ceramics made to a press-form in one of the Merv workshops are the masterpieces of the medieval craftsmen of the XII-th - the beginning of the XIII-th centuries.

The ware by the Urgench ceramic-makers were popular far to the East and West. Their tradition survived even after the Mongolian Conquest. The dishes from the excavations on the site of Saraychik exhibited at the Congress are the proof of this (Kazakhstan).

The Mongolian Conquest, which violated for a time the normal course of history, failed however to arrest the development of the rich and peculiar culture of the Central-Asian peoples, which can be seen very plainly in the monuments of the Timur Period built and decorated by the best of the folk craftsmen.

The time that followed is characterized by the intensified feud, so naturally a number of the monuments erected were reduced and the art of craftsmanship somewhat declined.

The monuments of the ancient culture of the Central-Asian peoples are protected by the state; in the Samarkand, Bukhara Regions, in Tashkent, and in other areas a lot of restoration is being done.

A very large collection of oriental manuscripts was amassed in Tushkent on various sciences of the medieval East. Some of them are unique manuscripts with colourful miniatures and autographs and some contain valuable facts elucidating the history of technical knowledge. The collection may well be claimed to be one of the largest and richest in the USSR.

The traditions of the art and architecture of the Central-Asian peoples, which have been so thoroughly studied in Soviet times, are now employed on a large scale when building modern public and apartment houses and also in the arts and crafts industries.

The ethnographic explorations in Transcaucasia and Central Asia have now been developed to the point of planned systematic researches.

They are conducted by the research centres of the local Academies in the Republics of Transcaucasia and Central Asia as well as by the Institute of Ethnography of the All-Union Academy of Sciences and the Museum of the Peoples of the USSR in Leningrad.

The ethnographers are tackling the following basic problems: the ethnogenesis of the peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia, the history of their economic activity (land-farming, irrigation, cattle-breeding, craftsmanship, and trades, the history of social relations, national forms of culture and life in the making. One of the principal problems facing Soviet ethnography is the study of the socialist culture and life of the collective

farmers and workers.

The intensification of ethnographic research and tackling of complex scientific problems have often involved the related branches of science. This called for organising, in addition to purely ethnographic expeditions, complex expeditions with ethnographers, folklorists, archeologists, anthropologists, cartographers, linguists, etc. taking part.

The results of the numerous expeditions made it possible to start on compiling historical-ethnographical atlases to elucidate the basic ethnographic problems of the peoples of Transcaucasia and Central Asia such as their origin, development and contemporary mode of life.

The data collected by the expeditions provided a basis for compiling historical-ethnographical monographs with a detailed description of the peoples and smaller ethnic groups within the Socialist nations.

A thorough systematic study of some of the collective farms resulted in monographs on the Socialist culture and life of the collectivized peasantry and working class.

The ethnographic data exhibited reflect some aspects of the material and spiritual culture of the Soviet East.

The types of the national male and female dress chiefly dating from the XIX-th century are exhibited. They originate from the national costume of the past. The ancient tradition is preserved also in the decoration on the dress both in the embroidery and the fabric designs as is seen in the samples from Azerbaijan and Georgia. Numerous samples of craftsmanship, and above all, of pottery are also on display. Thus, in Mountainous Tajikistan the most ancient form of pottery-making has been preserved which is entirely in the hands of the women.

The highly intricate craft of the folk metal-makers is illustrated by the exhibits from Georgia and Azerbaijan where until recently various techniques of metalworking were vurrent: cool smithery, casting, stamping, engraving, filigree work, oxidizing, gold-inlaying, etc. Many of these techniques originate from the ancient metal-making culture of these peoples.

The folk musical instruments on display are designed to accompany both solo and chorus singing and dancing. A typical feature of folk-singing is its polyphony, whose simplest form is a song for two voices. Later on (IX-XII centuries) the divocal singing developed into a trivocal singing or even into a tetravocal singing. Some of the folk music is tape-recorded.

In Central Asia a thorough study has been made of the local weaving and embroidery crafts.

The most popular Central-Asiatic embroideries are exhibited: wall-covering - "suzani", blankets - "runjo" and rugs for worship - "jaynamas" made by very clever embroideresses.

From times immemorial, the Tajiks have been excellent silk and cotton weavers. Gissar is the old seat of weaving trade. The gowns and dresses exhibited are made of Gissar alacha.

One of the essentials of the national female costume is jewelry: silver ear-rings, forehead and temple trinkets of local make.

The arts and crafts of the Turkmens are also among the exhibits: nap carpets that have long been popular far beyond the boundaries of Turkmenia, jewelry, articles of the national dress, etc.

The folk-art samples from Kazakhstan are no less

interesting. Especially so are the felt tekemet with animal design and felt syrmak. Also very characteristic of Kazakh folk-art are the worn woolen mats used for the purpose of decorating the yourta mauts, tekemets, inlaid wall carpets of coloured broadcloth. The Kazakh section also includes pieces of jewelry, folk musical instruments, utensils.

The ethnographic materials are likewise characteristic of the former nomadic life, material culture and folk-art of the Kirghizians. It is rather curious to have a look at the ornamented utensils made of leather, a saddle and harness decorated with silver, female adornments, national costumes, carpets, and embroideries.

The study of the historical monuments and written records, literary heritage and ethnography enabled the Soviet scholars to reconstruct the historical past of Central Asia and Transcaucasia, to appreciate their contribution to the world culture, and inquire into the laws governing their historical progress. Thus, the Soviet historians have their share in the building of the national culture of the Socialist Nations of the Soviet East.

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XXV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

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**THE KOREAN NOVEL „THE WONDERFUL
REUNION OF THE TWO BRACELETS“**

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Among the manuscripts and xylographs from the former collection of the well-known British orientalist W.G.Aston (now preserved in the Manuscript Department of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.), is the manuscript of the novel "The Wonderful Reunion of the Two Bracelets" 雙釧奇逢 "Ssyangch'yŏn kūibong" (22 volumes). It is written in the Korean alphabetic script. Neither the date nor the author's name is indicated.

The bibliographical handbooks and scientific literature available to us contain the following information about this novel.

In Volume I of M.Courant's "Bibliography of Korea"¹⁾ we find under number 933 the following entry:

Ssyangch'yŏn kūibong

쌍천기봉
雙川奇逢 (?)²⁾

Courant had apparently not seen the manuscript himself. In the hieroglyphica version of the title the second character 金川 is represented only by its phonetic part 川. Therefore the author of the bibliography gives an erroneous translation of the title: "The Wonderful Meeting of the Two Rivers" (Rencontre merveilleuse des deux fleuves).

Kim T'ae Jan's work "The History of Korean Fiction" (Chosŏn sosŏlsa)³⁾ published in Seoul in 1939 mentions both the novel "Ssyngch'yŏn kūibong" and works of similar genre. However, at this point the author refers to Courant's bibliography.

In Ch'oe Hyŏn Bae's book "The Study of Korean Writing" (Hangŭlgal) no mention is made of this novel, though it contains a detailed description of extant writings in the Korean alphabetic script (manuscripts, xylographs and old printed books).

Neither does Maema Kyōsaku speak of this novel in his "Catalogue of Old Korean Books" (Kosen sappu).⁵⁾

We have consequently no detailed information on this literary work, but we shall nevertheless try to define the nature of the novel and the time of its writing, on the basis of the manuscript itself.

"Ssyangch'yŏn kūibong" is a historical novel of the family chronicle type. The action takes place in China during the rule of the Ming dynasty and covers the period from 1382 to 1572. The novel relates the history of five generations of the house of Li. Li Hyŏng (Li Hsian in Chinese), the founder of the family, is an historical personage. In the early years of the Ming dynasty, there were, in fact, two Li Hsians. One of them was a retainer of the Emperor Cheng-tsu (1403-1425), and the other belonged to the retinue of the Emperor Ying-tsung (1457-1465). By comparing the biographies of these two men, contained in the "Great Dictionary of Chinese Names"⁶⁾, with that of Li Hyŏng as given in Ssyangch'yŏn kūibong, it is easy to see that the two biographies are combined in the life of the fictional hero. The novel is based on certain facts taken from the life of Li Hsian, Emperor

Cheng-tsu's courtier, but the author ascribes to him the public career, ranks and titles of the other Li Hsian, who lived somewhat later. The author creates a composite, artistically modified character, whose life and activity form the main subject lines in the opening parts of the novel.

"Ssyangch'yōn kūibong" is a novel with an action set on several planes and with a very complex and widely ramified plot. Its title is connected with one of the secondary lines of the plot, which does not hold a very important place in the novel, but has been introduced for the sake of additional entertainment. It is the story of the reunion of two gold bracelets which belonged to the Li family. It happened that one of these bracelets was lost and subsequently found in the possession of the So family. The bracelets were reunited only several generations later, when a youth of the Li family married a girl from the house of So.

The action of the novel develops quickly, the turns and twists of the plot are often unexpected, the situations are tense and entertaining. The author displays an inexhaustible inventive power in evolving elaborate complications, which sometimes lead the reader far away from the basic subject of the story. No situation is ever repeated, and all the main and subsidiary lines of the plot find their logical completion. The action covers approximately two centuries and scores of characters are introduced, each of them

taking part in some entertaining episode.

The attention of the author is focussed mainly on action, plot and situation. This may be seen from the fact that he refrains from using a number of literary methods and devices that are typical of other prose genres. For instance, there are no extensive descriptions of landscape, no vivid portrayal of the heroes' outward appearance or detailed sketches of everyday life, etc. The descriptive element is reduced to a minimum, and everything that may divert the reader's attention from the complex and involved plot has been eliminated.

The characters of the novel are endowed with exceptional qualities: they are uncommonly talented and good-looking. The men are either eminent statesmen and scientists or gifted military leaders; the women are invariably virtuous and well-educated.

In their behaviour the characters, and particularly the members of the Li family, are governed by the Confucian rules of the "five relationships". The idea of inevitable retribution in this life for evil deeds committed in previous incarnations is repeatedly expressed, particularly at the beginning and at the end of the novel. Any person is foredoomed either to suffering or to well being in this life, irrespective of his own desires and aspirations: his fate is predetermined. Yet, despite the narrow bounds by which individual personality is constricted in the novel,

the heroes are resolute and independent in their actions, which sometimes are opposed to the standards of feudal morale. For instance, Liu, one of the principal heroines, acting at her own risk, sometimes takes decisions on behalf of her husband Li Hyŏng.

The novel essentially portrays real life in all its complexity. People find their own way out of their difficulties; supernatural forces do not intervene. The lady Chin, for example, who is turned out of her house unjustly, does not return home at the will of her husband or the emperor. She raises her son herself and educates him. Justice is not restored by the intervention of a miracle or an act of royal wisdom. Her son who grows up without a father's guidance and who has no influential support, reaches a high position and wins the friendship of a kinsman of the emperor only through his own talent, wit and perspicacity.⁷⁾

The "Wonderful Reunion of the Two Bracelets", which describes events from the history of China, seems to be an original Korean literary work. The transfer of the scene of action to China is known to be one of the traditions of Korean literature (for instance, in Kim Man Chung's "Wanderings of Lady Hsa in the South", the action is set in China during the Ming epoch; in "The Cloud Dream of the Nine" the events take place in China during the T'ang dynasty, and similarly with the stories by Pak Chi Wong 1737 - 1805). Apart from this, the novel has several characteristics

which distinguish it from Chinese books of this genre.

As a rule, a Chinese novel is divided into chapters, while in "Ssyangch' yŏn kūibong" there is no division. Chinese novels usually have prologues, whereas "Ssyangch' yŏn kūibong" starts right off with the narrative, a method typical of the Korean literary tradition. The technique of describing the outward appearance of the characters is also characteristic. In the Chinese literary tradition, special artistic devices were evolved for depicting feminine and masculine beauty. The indiscriminate application of which to either sex would have been impossible. Yet in "The Wonderful Reunion of the Two Bracelets", the imagery of feminine beauty is used to describe the appearance of both men and women.

The concluding words of the novel, addressed to its female readers also bear witness to its originality: "If you read this, ladies, you will understand!" (puini nāripoa chāsī aljiōda). It is a well-known fact that books written in the Korean alphabetic script (contemptuously called "women's script") were, as a rule, destined for simple folk and women. Such an address to women readers is typically Korean.

Finally, the fact that in Sun Kai-ti's "Combin-⁸⁾ed Catalogue of Chinese Fiction" the title of the novel is not mentioned is yet another proof that this is an original work of Korean literature.

Let us now try to determine the period when

the novel "Ssyangch'yŏn kūibong" was written. The quality of the paper and the handwriting give us no clue for dating it.⁹⁾

We may tentavily determine the chronological limits within which Ssyangch'yŏnkūibong" could have been written. The "upper" limit is obviously 1894 (the year when Volume I of Courant's Bibliography was published); the "lower" limit is 1572, i.e. the latest date mentioned in the text of the novel. A passage in volume 22 of the manuscript says (page 55-a):

nyung'gyŏng hwangdye ttae-ūi syŏlch'o-ūi
ch'ildae sonsyŏmun-i kūpdyeŏya hallim
haksā-ro sŏgūi-rŭl takkŭl - sae ...

"At the time of the emperor who ruled under the motto nyung'gyŏng¹⁰⁾, Syŏl Mun, descendant of Syŏl, seven times removed, who had recently passed his state examinations and received the rank of hallim haksā, was putting his family chronicle into good order..."

The fourth notebook of the manuscript has the half-title: kapsin chŏngwŏl il ssyangch'yŏn kūibong" (The year Kapsin, first moon day, "The wonderful Reunion of the Two Bracelets") kapsin chongwŏl sibiil ssyangch'yŏn kūibong (The year Kapsin, first moon, 12th day, "The wonderful Reunion of the Two Bracelets"). The second notation was made apparently because in the first one the date had been omitted.

This half-title mentions the year Kapsin in the cyclic chronology (甲申). From 1572 (our lower limit) to 1894 (our upper limit) the cyclic date Kapsin denoted the following years: 1644, 1704, 1764, 1824, 1884. Which of these is to be identified with the "year Kapsin" of the half-title? We think that it is 1884. Examination of the colophons and notes on other manuscripts in the Aston collection, led to the conclusion that this same cyclic date appears in the following documents :

1. C-5¹¹⁾ (manuscript without title) - a collection of stories and dialogues in Korean, compiled by Pak Ch'ong Sik and others for Aston during his stay in Korea. On p.359 (Chinese pagination) of this manuscript we find the colophon: kapsin si-bilwŏl isipsamil sojŏng tong pilsŏ.
2. D-16. hyŏnesi ssyanganingi. In volume 5 of this manuscript we find the note kapsin owŏl isipsamil
3. C - 17. poūng'gi urok. At the end of the first volume there is the note: kapsin sawŏl sibil yŏdan chongmansŏk

As we know, Aston, the owner of the collection of Korean manuscripts, was consul in Korea from 1884 to 1886. The Kapsin cyclic date 甲申 exactly coincides with the first year of his consular service - 1884. It may be supposed that 1884 is not the year when the novel was composed, but when it was copied -

possibly especially for Aston. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why this date is mentioned so many times in the manuscript of the Aston collection.

The following facts speak in favour of this supposition :

1. In comparing the handwriting of the manuscript of "Ssyangch'yŏn kūibong" with that of other manuscript novels of the same collection, it was found that manuscript C-36 "Hwajŏng sŏnhaengnok" (with the exception of the second and third volumes), and also volumes 22 and 23 of the manuscript D-14 "Ha jin yang munnok" were written in the same hand (the rest of manuscript D-14 is in another hand).

2. On various pages of the manuscript of "Ssyangch'yŏn kūibong" there are corrections and insertions (sometimes one or two lines long) made in black and red ink and written in the same hand as the manuscript. (v.6, p.37-b; v.7, p. 49-b; v.8, p.21-b; volume.10, p.41 a; v.IX, p.29-a; v.XI, p.27-b, 28-a; v.14, p. 28-b). These corrections and insertions may have been introduced by the copyist at a later date, often he had compared his text with the original or some other copy of "Ssyangch'yŏn kūibong".

Now let us see if the language of the manuscript of "Ssyangch'yŏn kūibong", which we have dated 1884, is the language of the 19th century.

We may use as criteria certain linguistic phenomena whose presence or absence in a given docu-

ment allow an approximate dating. We have in mind the formation of the nominative case of nouns by means of one determinative or two, and the observance of the law of vowel harmony in the formation of the dative case of nouns.

Medieval Korean has only one case ending for the nominative case -이 "I" which was used both for words with a closed syllable at the end and for those ending in an open syllable. Later on, a separate particle 가 "GA", appear for the ending in an open syllable. We may consider how nouns ending in an open syllable in the nominative case were joined in the manuscript in question as compared with manuscripts and xylographs datable to the 19th century :

"Ssyangch'yŏn kūibong" Documents datable
to the 19th century

<u>nusyu-i manmyŏnhaye</u>	<u>p'osyu-ga wisyŏn han son-</u>
Tears flooded his face...	<u>ūro kū-nyŏn-ūi mōrich'ag-</u>
(v.1 p. 4-a)	<u>rūl kamachwigo</u>
	The guard just seized this
	woman by the hair and wound
	it on his wrist (C-5, manu-
	script of 1884, p.129)
<u>chaejo-i kūit'ūkhanjira</u>	<u>kū-saram-ūn chaejo-ga</u>
	<u>mant'a haomnaeda</u>
The talent is wonderful	He is said to have many
(v.1, p.48-a)	talents (B-15, xylograph
	of 1880, p.7-b)

t'yōnha -i kūūōpsi nōrani tyangma-ga yōnīl kūtch'ji
anihaapkiro

The world is infinitely
wide. (v.1, p.27-a)

The rain did not stop
several days (C-6 manu-
script of 1876 p.15)

Pumo -i ōmgūmhanī

The parents were strict.
(v.1, p.10-a)

chomo-ga ōpsōkyesinka

Is your mother well?
(B-4 manuscript of 1841,
p.95)

We see that in the manuscript of "Ssyangch'yōn kūibong", the same particle is regularly used for the nominative case ending in an open syllable for one ending in a closed syllable, while in the 19th century documents cited above an open syllable has the special case ending "GA".

This linguistic peculiarity of the manuscript of "Ssyangch'yōn kūibong" enables us to assume a date earlier than the 19th century.

It is also common knowledge that the law of vowel harmony which was strictly observed in the early medieval language, is not found in 19th century documents. For instance, the rule ūi/e äe/ae characteristic of early medieval Korean gives way to the endings ūi/e. The absence of the opposition of the two kinds of dative case, indicating violation of the law of vowel harmony is also typical of the novel in question. A few examples may be cited.

sūrha-ūi urō - weeping at her knees ...(v.2,p.15-a)

hok i kos-ūi majälka turyōhāya

He was afraid they would not meet in this place ...

(v.10,p.2-a)

nyōā-ūi pangdyung-ūi nirāni

He led (him) to the girl's room ... (v.1,p.13-a)

The picture was quite different in the 17th century, when the harmony of vowels in the formation of the dative case was observed with exceptions. Several examples from a xylograph of 1667 may be cited.

sohak ōnhae

tang-ae syang-i isimyō

There is one school to five hundred houses ... (p.47)

syohāk-ae ssūn marira

Which is said in the "Minor Teaching" ... (p.21)

sūmūl sehīn hae-ye ka holttinira

They will marry girl off at twenty-three ... (p.45)

Thus we may assume that "Ssyangch'yōn kūibong" was written later than the 17th century.

It remains to compare the language of "Ssyanch'yōn kūibong" with that of an 18th century document, both as to formation of the noun in the nominative case and as to observance of the law of vowel harmony in the dative case.

"Ssyangch'yōn kūibong" D-13 "kyōngsinnok/ōnsōk/

xylograph of 1796

a/ Nominative case

t'yōnjā-i syudyo-re sūngsyang- yōja-i yusynch'imot-

ūl kakpyōr wirohāsigo

hāya

The Son of Heaven expressed As the woman was
his sympathy and comforted rebellious ...
Sūngsyang ...

(v. 22, p.17-b)

(p.5-b)

tyangjiya-i wal

ch'yōung-ūi sǎja nar-ūl

chabakadōni

The worthy man said...

The Ch'ing ambassador

seized me ...

(v.1, p.25-a)

(p. 54-a)

b/ Dative case -open vowel of the root

mǎām-ūi ch'yuyōn-hǎdōni

kong-i mǎām-ūi isyanhi
nōgyō

(Li Siran's) soul was
saddened...

Kong, having in his soul
considered this unusual

(v.1, p.1-a)

(p.34-b)

Closed vowel of the root

chib-ūi irārō

kūdae chib-ūi kūnsimhāgo t'an-
sikhām-ūl tūkko

Having approached the
house...

I heard how the people in your
house worry and sigh ...

(v.2, p.2-b)

(p.34-b)

We see that the rule of vowel harmony is not
observed either in "Ssyanch'yōn kūibong" or in the
18th century document, and that in both documents
the nominative case has the same endings for both
open and closed vowels.

Thus we are led to conclude that in all proba-
bility "Ssyangch'yōn kūibong" is to be dated in the

18th century.

The novel "Seyangch'yŏn kūibong" was apparently written during the period when fiction in the native language flourished in Korea; it represents a particular branch of this literature, in respect to both genre and style. The study of this work shows that in the medieval epoch Korean prose was much richer than has been hitherto considered. Further study of the novel genre should enlarge our conceptions of medieval Korean literature.

N O T E S

- 1 Maurice Courant, Bibliographie Coréenne, Paris, 1894.
- 2 The interrogation mark is used in Courant's text
- 3 Kim T'ae Jun, Chos'ŏn Sos'ŏlsa, Seoul 1939
- 4 Ch'oe Hy'ŏn Bae, Hangŭlgal, Seoul 1942
- 5 Maema Kyōsaku, Kosen Sappu, Tokyo, 1954
- 6 Chungkuo Cjênming tatz'ütien, Shanghai, 1921
- 7 (Compare the fate of lady Chin with that of lady Hsa - the main personage in Kim Man Chung's narrative (1637-1692) "Wanderings of Lady Hsa in the South"
- 8 Chungkuo t'ungsu hsiaoshuo Shumu, Peking, 1958
- 9 The relation of quality of paper and penmanship to the dating of Korean manuscripts has been thoroughly examined by O.P. Petrova in her Preface for the First issue of "The description of the literary monuments of the Korean culture" M - L, 1956 "Описание писменных памятников корейской культуры"
- 10 Nyung Gyōng corresponds to the Chinese Lung tsin - the motto of the Ming Mu-tsung's rule (1567 - 1572)
- 11 Here and further - the press-mark of the manuscript in the inventory of the collection of monuments of the Korean culture at the Manuscript department of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, USSR.

Зак.219

Тир.350 экз.

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M. N. PAK

**KOREAN HISTORIOGRAPHY
ON THE CHARACTER OF THE SOCIAL
AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN KOREA
IN THE THREE KINGDOMS PERIOD**

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The nature of social-economic relations in the period of the Three Kingdoms (Koguryŏ, Paekche and Silla) is one of the central problems in modern Korean historiography. Its solution is closely connected not only with the elucidation of the sources of Korean civilization, but also with the understanding of the general laws governing the historical process in Korea, including such matters as the time of the disintegration of the primitive community formation and the emergence of a state system; the existence of slavery in Korea; the time of the appearance of feudal relations and their specific features.

The old Korean historiography as a whole (both of the feudal and bourgeois periods) was incapable of exploring laws governing the social and economic development of the country. For instance, the historic facts of the past (especially the deeds of individuals: kings, ministers and military leaders) interested the feudal Confucian historians exclusively from the point of view of didactics and their instructive value for future generations.¹⁾ Among the scholars of the feudal period, the historians representing the Sirhak trend of progressive thought in the 17th and 18th centuries made the most substantial contribution to the study of the early history of the country's

social development. Not only did they essentially develop the criticism of historical sources and the historiography of the past, but they also connected the study of history with the task of renovation and remaking of the reality in which they lived.

The real study of Korean history as a law-governed process and an integral part of the world history was started only in the 20th century by progressive Korean historians who devoted their work to the struggle of the people for its liberation from the colonial yoke.

The monograph by Paek Nam-Un (now President of the Academy of Sciences of the Korean People's Democratic Republic) published in 1933³⁾, which laid the foundations for the Marxist research into the social and economic problems of Korean history on the basis of Korean sources contains, the conclusion that the history of Korea knew a consecutive change of social and economic formations. The author maintained that the earliest stage of social development in Korea was the period of primitive community system later replaced by class society of the Three Kingdoms, which in his opinion, was the slavery formation as he supposed that in these states "slaves bore the main burden of social productive labour".⁴⁾

Paek Nam-Un's opinion on the slave-holding nature of the social and economic system which existed in the states of Koguryō, Paekche and Silla, became rather popular as early as the 'thirties. Yet it won particularly great recognition in the early years after the liberation of the country, as it may be seen from the publication of a number of other works,⁵⁾ aimed at stressing the characteristic features of a slave-owning society in the period of the Three Kingdoms.

In the course of the further successful development of historical science in the Korean People's Democratic Republic other interpretations of the social and economic nature of the three states also appeared. In Early 1953, during the discussion at the Academy of Sciences of Korean People's Democratic Republic a considerable number of historians expressed the view that Koguryō, Paekche and Silla should not be regarded as slavery formations but as states of the period when feudal relations were under formation.⁶⁾ Later, - after the appearance of the articles by Kim Kwang-Jin⁷⁾, Corresponding Member of the Korean Academy of Sciences, who submitted an explanation of the reasons, why Korea had by-passed the slavery stage and entered feudalism immediately after the disintegration of the primitive community - the discussion among Korean his-

torians on the social and economic character of the three states, became particularly animated ⁸⁾ and spread beyond the boundaries of Korea. ⁹⁾

The all-Korean discussion on the nature of the social and economic relations in the period of the three states, which was organised by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Korean People's Democratic Republic in October-November 1956¹⁰⁾ revealed various points of view in the Korean historical science and became an important event in the study of the problem. While a fairly big group of historians regarded the Three Kingdoms as having reached the early feudal stage, substantiating the possibility of Korea to have by-passed the slavery stage, another no less numerous group continued to maintain that the social relations in the three states were based on slave-ownership and advanced a number of new considerations on the nature of slavery in Korea. Besides these two extreme opinions, other viewpoints with regard to the social and economic system in the period of the Three Kingdoms were also stated. Some historians, for instance, raised general objections against establishing any direct connection between the emergence of the Three Kingdoms and the disintegration of

the primitive community formation. In their opinion, the beginnings of class society in Korea should be sought earlier, in the period preceding the emergence of the Three Kingdoms.

As an outcome of this discussion, a collection of articles and speeches ¹¹⁾ was published in 1958, which was the result of many years of research by Korean scholars, and essentially contributed to the study of the early period of Korean history. After an all-round study of practically all the factual data pertaining to the social and economic characteristics of the Three Kingdoms ¹²⁾ the efforts of the Korean historians are now aimed at bringing the existing viewpoints closer together and working out a common opinion on the solution of this important problem of Korean history. ¹³⁾

Without going into all the details of this major discussion in Korean historiography of today, we shall briefly dwell on some of the most important questions, the divergencies on which prevent the historians from working out a common viewpoint on the nature of Korea's social and economic system in the period of the Three Kingdoms.

The difficulties of the solution of the problem are due to the fact that it is related to a number of other unsolved questions of Korean history. Such,

for example, is the problem of the nature of social and economic relations in Korea before the establishment of the three states. Both the historians who recognize the existence of slavery during the Three Kingdoms periods (Paek Nam-Un etc.), and those who deny it (Kim Kwang-Jin and others) equally consider that the emergence of the Kingdoms of Koguryo, Paekche and Silla in the early centuries of the new era (some divergencies also exist among the historians as to the exact time when these states were formed) was connected with the disintegration of the primitive community system of Korean tribes. Paek Nam-Un related the development of a slavery system to the appearance of slave-holding in the tribes and Kim Kwang-Jin taking into account the insignificant number of slaves in the total mass of the population, substantiated a theory on the possibility of passing over to feudalism without going through the period of slavery. In his works he defined all the Three Kingdoms as early feudal states. Yet in the last few years, the opinion of Chong Hui-Yong¹⁴⁾ who associates the origin of class society in Korea not with the Three Kingdoms, but with an earlier period of Choson and Mahan, was supported by other historians such as Kim Sok-Hyong¹⁵⁾ and Lim Kon-Sang.¹⁶⁾ They refer the formation of a class slave-holding society in Korea to

several centuries B.C. Yet though their ideas of the social system in ancient Korea coincided, Kim Sŏk-Hyŏng and Chŏng Hui-Yŏng defined the Three Kingdoms as early feudal, whereas Lim Kŏn-Sang considered them to be slavery formations. This shows that the elucidation of the nature of the social and economic system of the Three Kingdoms is not wholly dependent on the understanding of social relations in ancient Korea, on which we have still less data at our disposal. It is therefore bearing on the history of the Three Kingdoms.

As a considerable part of Korean historians regard the Three Kingdoms as slave-owning states, it is of great importance to establish the role of slave labour in the system of social production in the Three Kingdoms, i.e. to examine the facts and arguments, on the basis of which conclusions on the existence of a slavery formation in the period of the Three Kingdoms are based. In support to his thesis of one of the Three Kingdoms (Silla) having been a slavery formation, Academician Paek Nam-Un wrote in the 'thirties that slave manpower was there "the predominant element in the organization of labour", "the basic element of productive forces", that its distribution was an embodiment of antagonistic relations in the organisation of production and that it formed the basis of social relations of production". The only factual basis for

this conclusion on the mass application of slave labour is found in the following passage from "Sin T'ang shu": 新羅宰相 家不絕祿、奴僮三千人甲兵牛馬猪稱之、畜牧海中山、須食乃射。

"At the house of the Sillan minister the payment of salary is never suspended. Three thousand young slaves and armoured warriors, cattle, horses and pigs add to his importance. The animals graze on the mountainous islands amidst the sea, and whenever meat is necessary for the table, they are killed with arrows". I have already happened to write¹⁹⁾ that the characters "奴僮" denoting young slaves are, in this text, quite inconsistent with the characters that follow "甲兵" (armoured warriors). Most probably, an error has been made in the document, and the characters "奴僮" do not mean slaves but stand for 弩幢 an expression which meant a military unit in the Kingdom of Silla.²⁰⁾ Despite the dubious nature of this information on slaves, historian Kang Pyŏng Do uses it in our times as his basic argument in favour of his assertion that the Three Kingdoms were states based on slavery.²¹⁾

The lack of facts on the mass application of slave labour in the period of the Three Kingdoms, makes

Paek Nam-Un's supposition of the existence in Korea of well-developed slavery, like that of the Greeks and Romans meaningless. Therefore at the latest discussion the partisans of a "slavery version" insisted on a new interpretation of the peculiarities of the system of slave-owning in Korea. Together with Li Nung-Sik,²²⁾ historians Lim Kon-Sang,²³⁾ Han Kil-On²⁴⁾ as well as Paek Nam-Un²⁵⁾ maintain that slavery which existed in Korea was not of the classical Greco-Roman type, but was a system typical of the ancient East, in which slaves though forming the basic element of production relations, did not, at the same time constitute the majority of the population, and the community organisation subordinated to the power of the despotic state remained practically intact. Describing Korean immediate producers of the period of the three states, Han Kil-On²⁶⁾ considered them enslaved peasants (resembling the Spartan ilots) and applied to them Karl Marx' thesis on the existence of mass slavery in the ancient East.²⁷⁾ Yet such a definition of the social and economic system of the Three Kingdoms is derived from some outward features (such as the existence of a community, tributes, state works etc.) which establish points of similarity between them and some of the slavery states of the ancient East. Far from taking into consideration

the differences in the general historic conditions in Korea at the dawn of the new era, and in the ancient East in period when despotic slavery states were being formed (many centuries before the new era), this definition also disregards the specific conditions of the development of the three Korean kingdoms, the latter appeared after the establishment of feudalism in the neighbouring China, which influenced the development of productive forces, the social and political institutions, the ideology and culture of the Korean population.

Although we have but few facts at our disposal showing the internal structure of the community organisation, historian No Chŏng-Han,²⁸⁾ taking the example of Koguryŏ, convincingly reveals the land ownership relations (which sprang up in Korea as a result of the disintegration of the primitive community system) to be feudal relations in process of formation. Touching on the problem of the productive forces of the time, this author finds it difficult to determine the exact level of productive forces which distinguishes the formation based on slavery from feudalism.²⁹⁾ Yet it should be noted that while the formation of the first slavery states of the ancient East started in the period

when bronze instruments were used, the three Korean kingdoms sprang up not only in a period of the widespread use of iron,³⁰⁾ but also of a generally higher level in the development of productive forces. Ōm Ch'ang-Jong³¹⁾ correctly notes that up to now apart from the use of iron in Korea which alone has been discussed so far, the all-round study of the productive forces of the Three Kingdoms still remains a problem of the future.

Though many problems pertaining to the level of productive forces, the forms of ownership and the state organization (which may be similar to a certain degree both under slavery and the feudal systems) still remain open for discussion, correct understanding of the class conditions of the masses of immediate producers is of exceptional and really decisive importance for the determination of the social and economic nature of the Three Kingdoms. It is also necessary to establish with great precision the essential difference between a slave and a serf, a difference stemming from the difference in the methods of production. Yet the Korean scholars To Yu-Ho³¹⁾ and Li Ung-Su³³⁾ consider that the only difference between a slave and a serf consists only in the degree of exploitation and oppression to which they are subjected and not in the different eco-

conomic conditions (relation to the implements and means of production) under which the surplus product of their labour was obtained. As a result, a considerable number of feudally dependent peasants are included in the category of slaves. Out of the three categories of working and exploited people in the period of the Three Kingdoms (the 民 or "people", the 下户 or "lower households" and the 奴婢 or "slaves, enslaved nobi") these historians include in the category of slaves not only the enslaved "nobi", but also the dependent "haho" or peasants of the "lower households" category. This arbitrary inclusion of the "haho" in the category of slaves runs counter to the data found in written Chinese and Korean sources. Therefore the attempt to consider the "haho" as slaves meets general opposition on the part of the historians who do not admit the existence of a slavery formation in the Three Kingdoms.³⁴⁾ The latest studies of Kim Sök-Hyŏng³⁵⁾ convincingly show that not only the "haho", but even the "nobi" cannot be regarded as slaves (though the latter were "slaves" by name), because they had their own households and their masters levied from them definite dues of the same kind as those levied from the "lower households". The forms of exploitation of the working population (which was subjected to different degrees of dependence) both by the state and the indi-

vidual representatives of the ruling class were definitely feudal in nature.

It seems to us that the correct approach to the problem of the social and economic nature of the three Korean kingdoms was assumed by those historians who seek to study the development of the Three Kingdoms on the paths of feudalism and not by those who regard them as a primitive slavery formation, as features of feudal relations may be found in the conditions of the working masses, as well as in the appropriation of the fruit of their labour by the ruling class (through taxes, corvee etc.).

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The historian of 12th century Kim Pu-Sik saw his task in finding such historic facts which would be useful "for revealing the merits and faults of kings and queens, the devotion or treacherousness of their servants, tranquillity of perilousness in the state, the well-being or rebelliousness of the people, which might serve for the instruction of future generations". Ким Бу Сик, Самхук саги. (Исторические записи трёх государств. Летописи Силла). Издание текста, перевод, вступительная статья и комментарии М.Н.Пака, М., 1959, стр. 61.

- 2) A critical attitude to the old Confucian historiography is found in practically all the works of Sirhak ideologists but An Chŏng-Bok's "Tongsa kangmok" and Han Chi'i-Yun's "Haedong yŏksa", later continued by Han Chin-Sŏ in his "Haedong yoksa sok" are the major special works on this matter. Of great importance for the study of the early period of Korean history are the studies in historical geography: "Yoam chŏnsŏ" by Sin Kyŏng-Jun, "Tongguk chiri ji" by Han Paek-Kyŏm, and "Abang Kangyŏk ko" by famous Chŏng Yak-Yong. On this see "Chosŏn kodaе chirihak yŏngu sŏsŏl" (Introduction to the study of histori-

cal geography of ancient Korea) in "Yŏksa nonmun chip", v.11, P'yŏngyang, 1958, pp.1-79.

- 3) Paek Nam-Un. Chōsen shakai Kaizai shi (Paek Nam Un, Social and Economic History of Korea), Tōkyō, 1933.
- 4) Ibid., p.447.
- 5) Among them are: "Chosŏn Kodaek Kukka hyŏngsŏng Kwajŏng" (Han Kil-Ōn). The Process of Formation of the Ancient State in Korea, in "Chosŏn yŏksa yŏngu nonmun chip" - "Collection of articles on the history of Korea", P'yŏngyang, 1947; "Chosŏn noye sidaesa yŏngu" by Li Ŭng-Su, (Li Ŭng-Su, Study on the history of slavery in Korea), in "Yŏksa che-munje" - "The Problems of History", P'yŏngyang, 1949, No 9, 10, 11; "Chosŏn Kodaek sa". ("The Ancient History of Korea"), published by the Commission on compiling the history of Korea, P'yŏngyang, 1951, as well as some textbooks and teaching aids.
- 6) See "Chosŏn t'ongsa ("History of Korea"), vol.1, published by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Korean People's Democratic Republic P'yŏngyang, 1956, pp.76-79. Kim Kwang-Jin. Chosŏn-e issŏsŏui ponggŏn chedo-ŭi palsaeng Kwajong. Noye soyujajok Kusŏng-ŭi chonbu yŏha-e taehan munje wa Kwallyŏn-hayŏ.

- 7) (Kim Kwang-Jin, The process of the establishment of feudalism in Korea in connection with the question if there ever was a slavery formation in the country). Journal "Yŏksa Kwahak" ("Historical Science" later referred to as "Yŏksa Kwahak"), 1955, No. 8, 9; Kim Kwang-Jin. Sanguk sidae-ŭi sahoe Kyŏngje Kusong-e Kwanhan myŏkaji munje-e taehayŏ. (Kim Kwang-Jin, On the problems concerning the social economic system in the period of the Three Kingdoms), "Yŏksa Kwahak", 1956, No. 5, 6.
- 8) The opinion of Kim Kwang-Jin was opposed by To Yu-Ho and Li Ŭng-su. See To Yu-Ho. Chosŏn yŏksa-sang-e nŭn Kwayŏn noyeje sahoe-ga ōmnŭnga? Kim Kwang-Jin tongji-ŭi pujongnon-gwa Kwallyŏn-hayŏ. (To Yu-Ho, Was there really no period of slavery in the history of Korea? Comment on comrade Kim Kwang-Jin's denial of it "Yŏksa Kwahak", 1956, No. 3; Li Ŭng-Su. Tasi han-bŏn chosŏn noye sidae munjerŭl nonham (Li Ung-Su. Once more on the problem of slavery in Korea), "Yŏksa Kwahak", 1956, No. 5.
- 9) After the publication of my article "О характере социально-экономических отношений в государстве Силла". "Вопросы истории", 1956, No. 7 (Korean translation in Yŏksa Kwahak", 1957, No. 1) in which the kingdom of Silla is defined as an early feudal state, historian Han Kil-Ŏn opposed its

main ideas in the Chinese review "Lishi Yanchiu".

See Han Kil-On. Lun Sinlo kuochia ti shahui tsingtsi tsiekou ti singchih - Ji M.N.Pak t'ungchih ti lunwen wej chungsin. Han Kil-On. On the nature of social and economic relations in the kingdom of Silla. On the article by M.N.Pak, "Lishi Yanchiu", (Study of History, later referred to as "Lishi Yanchiu"), 1957, No. 11.

- 10) Reports on the discussion in "Nodon Sinmun", November, 6, 1956 (See translation Хан Чан Хо, Дискусия о рабочем владельческом строе в Корею, "Вопросы истории", 1957; № 5, стр. 217-220) and in "Yoksa Kwahak", 1957, No. 1.

- 11) "Samguk sigi-ŭi sahoe Kyongje Kusong-e Kwanhan t'oron chip" (Discussion on the social and economic system of the Three Kingdoms), published by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Pyŏngyang, 1958, 443 pages (Later referred to as "Discussion...").

- 12) The brevity and incompleteness of information on the social economic life of the country found in the main Korean ("Samguk Sagi", "Samguk Yusa") and Chinese sources (Dynasty history from "Senkwochi" and "Houhanshu" to the old and new "Tang shu") made different interpretation of the history of the Three Kingdoms possible and considerably involve the solution of the problem.

- 13) Lim Kŏn-Sang. Samguk sigi-ŭi sahoe Kyongje Kusong-e Kwanhayŏ (Lim Kŏn-Sang, On the socio-economic system of the Three Kingdoms period), "Yŏksa Kwahak, 1959, No. 2, pp. 51-60. Kim Sŏk-Hyŏng. Samgug-ŭi Kyegŭp chekwange. Samgug-ŭi sahoe Kyongje Kusong-ŭi hoemyŏng-ŭl wihayŏ (Kim Sŏk-Hyŏng. The Class relations in three Kingdoms. To elucidation of the character of its social and economical system), "Yŏksa Kwahak", N. 4, p. 15-40.
- 14) See Chŏng Hŭi-Yŏng. Samguk sigi ichŏn-ŭi Kukka paltchon-e taehan koch'al (Chŏng Hŭi-Yŏng, Study on the development of the state system before the Three Kingdoms period), "Discussion... 3, pp. 350-391. Also: Chŏng Hŭi-Yŏng. Chosŏnesŏi ch'ot kukka hyŏngsŏng-ŭn samgug-ŭi hyŏngsŏnggŭroput'ŏ sijak-toengŏs-ŭn anida. (Chŏng Hŭi-Yŏng, The beginning of the state system in Korea are not connected with the formation of the Three Kingdoms) in "Yŏksa nonmun chip", v. 1, Pyŏngyang, 1957, pp. 1-76.
- 15) Kim Sŏk-Hyŏng (op.cit. "Yŏksa Kwahak", 1959, No. 4, pp. 39-40.
- 16) Lim Kŏn-Sang. Chosŏn-sa, 1, taehak yong. (Lim Kŏn-Sang. History of Korea, v. 1, for higher schools), Pyŏngyang, 1958, pp. 56-86.
- 17) Paek Nam-Un, op.cit., p. 362.

- 18) "Sin Tanshu Chuan 220 Lechuan 145, tuni, hsinlo chuan".
- 19) "Вопросы истории", 1956. № 7, стр. 58.
- 20) The military unit is mentioned in Samguk Sagi. See "Samguk sagi", kwon 40, chapchi 9, chikkwan ha.
- 21) Kang Pyŏng-Do gives the following erroneous in our opinion translation "The payment of salary is not suspended at the house of the Sillan minister. He has three thousand slaves and his troops are called by the names of bulls, horses and pigs. The animals graze on the islands and whenever necessary, they are killed with arrows". ("Silla chaesang-ŭn chib-e nokpong-i kkunŏjiji anakko, noye-ga samch'on myŏng-ina toego Kunsarul kyŏngyŏng-hayŏ so pudae, mal pudae, twaeji pudaerago pullŏtta. Sŏm-esŏ mokch'uk-ŭl Kyŏngyŏng-hayŏ p'iryo-hal ttae-e nŭn ssoasŏ chabatta). See Kang Pyŏng-Do. Chosŏn-ŭn noye sidae-rŭl kyŏnggwa-hainnŭn-ga? (Kang Pyŏng Do, Was there a period of slavery in the history of Korea...) "Discussion...", p.230.
22. Li Nŭng-sik, Tongbang noye soyuja sahoe-ŭi sŏngkyŏg-e kwanhayŏ. Samguk sidae-ŭi sŏngkyŏg-e kwanhan t'oron (Li Nŭng-Sik, On the nature of the Eastern

slavery. In connection with the discussion on the nature of the Three Kingdoms period), "Discussion...", pp.265-282.

- 23) Lim Kŏn-Sang. Sanguk-ŭi sahoe Kyŏngje Kusŏng-e taehan myotkaji munje. (Lim Kŏn-Sang, Some problems concerning the social-economic system of the Three Kingdoms), "Discussion...", pp.74-144. Han Kil-Ŏn. Chosŏn-esŏŭi noye soyujajok sahoe Kyŏngje Kusŏngch'e-e Kwanhayŏ.
- 24) (Han Kil-Ŏn, On the social-economic structure of the slave-holding society in Korea), "Discussion...", pp.145-182.
- 25) Paek Nam-Un Wŏnse-ŭi t'oron yoji. (From the speech of Academician Paek Nam Un "Discussion...", pp.336-349.
- 26) "Collection of articles on the history of Korea", pp.298-299, "Lishi Yanchiu", 1957, No.11, pp.85-89.
- 27) К. . Маркс.Формы,предшествующие капиталистическому производству. М. 1940, стр. 30.
- 28) Nŏ Chŏng-Han. Koguryŏ-esŏŭi t'oji soyu Kwangye. (Nŏ Chŏng-Han. Land tenure relations in Koguryo). "Discussion...", pp.294.335.
- 29) Ibid., p.297.
- 30) While Kim Kwang-Jin (see op.cit.) relating to the use of iron, postulated the existence in Korea of

highly developed productive forces and stated the idea that such development made possible Korea's transition to feudalism by-passing the slavery stage, the adherents of the "slavery version" to deny such a high degree of development. Han Kil-Ŏn, for instance, in his polemics with us on the high level of productive forces in Silla maintains that iron implements were not introduced in Silla before the 4th century A.D. (See "Lishi Yanchiu", 1957, N 11, pp.79-83). Yet this opinion does not seem to be shared by the historians and archaeologists of the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

- 31) Ŏm Ch'ang-Jong. Samguk sidae-ŭi sahoe Kyongje Kusong-e taehan yŏngu-wa kwallyŏn-hayŏ chegi-toelsuinnŭn myŏt kaji munje (Ŏm Ch'ang Chong. Some problems arising in the study of the social and economic system of the Three Kingdoms), "Discussion...", pp.416-417.
- 32) To Yu-Ho. Samguk sidae-nŭn ponggŏn sidae-ga anida. (To Yu-Ho. The Three Kingdoms Period was not feudal), "Discussion...", p.49.
- 33) Li Ŭng-Su. Chosŏn noye sidae munje soron (Li Ŭng-Su. Short remarks on the slavery period in Korea), "Discussion...", p.301.

- 34) Apart from the works by No Chǒng-Han and Ŏm Ch'ang Chong mentioned here, see also Kim Kwang-Jin. Chosǒn wǒnsi sahoe punggoe-ŭi t'ŭksusǒngkwa ponggǒnjǒk ukladu-ŭi palsaeng kwajong (Kim Kwang Jin. The specific features of the disintegration of primitive society in Korea and the origin of feudalism), "Discussion...", p.1-23; Chǒng Ch'an-Yǒng. Koguryǒ-ŭi sahoe kyǒngjejǒk sǒngkyǒg-e taehayǒ. (Chǒng Ch'an-Yǒng. On the social and economic nature of Koguryo), "Discussion...", p.183-218; Ch'ae Hi-Guk. Sanguk sigi-ŭi sahoe Kyǒngje Kusǒng-ŭl haemyǒng-hagi wihan myot kaji munje-e taehayǒ. (Ch'ae Hi-Guk. On some problems of the interpretation of the socio-economic system in the Three Kingdoms period), "Discussion..." pp.231-264.
- 35) Kim Sǒk-Hyǒng. Chosǒn ponggǒn sidae nongmin-ŭi Kegǔp Kusong. (Kim Sǒk-Hyǒng. The class structure of Korean peasantry in the feudal period), Pyǒngyang, 1957.

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XXV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

PAPERS PRESENTED BY THE USSR DELEGATION

M. SAIDOV

**THE DAGHESTAN ARABIC LITERATURE
OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH
CENTURIES**

**ORIENTAL LITERATURE PUBLISHING HOUSE
Moscow 1960**

Because of special historical conditions only a small part of the considerable number of work of Daghestan literature in the Arabic has come down to us. These works constitute a distinctive phenomenon and are therefore of interest to science.

In their bibliographical works the Arabian authors (Yāqūt, Ibn-Baṭūṭa, et al) mention but few scientists, who came from Derbent, before the 13th century. We do not anywhere find any names of Arabists from other areas of Daghestan before the 13th century because Islamization began there only in the 12th century.

The first such widely-known scientist whose works have come down to us was 'Alī of Kumukh (died in 1448) whose work "Al-mukhtassar" (Compendium) was repeatedly commented upon by many scientists of Daghestan and Egypt, for example, by Professor Al-Azhar 'Abdullāh of Sharqāvi (died in 1812). The well-known book "Durar al-azkār" on the hadīth also belongs to the pen of 'Alī of Kumukh.

It stands to reason that sheikh 'Alī of Kumukh had predecessors, local alims; manuscripts of Arabian authors copied by Daghestan scientists as early as

the 14th century have been preserved. Sheikh Asselder of Arkas (died in 1404) had followers and pupils.

Sufism penetrated into Daghestan rather early. In the 11th century Abūbakr Muhammed b. Mūsā b. al-Faraj of Derbent wrote a book on Sufism and the Sufis under the title of "Reyhān al-ḥaqāiq va bustān ad-da-qāiq" ("Basilica of Truths and Garden of Subtleties"). The naqshband trend of Sufism penetrated into Daghestan in the beginning of the 19th century. The essence of Sufism was set forth in the following treatises: "Al-adab al-marziye" by Jamāluddīn of Kumukh (Temir-Khan-Shura, 1908), "Al-mashrab an-naqshbandiye" by Abdurrahmān of Soghratl (Temir-Khan-Shura, 1906), "Kanz ad-durar" and "Mashāriq al anvār" by Muhammed of Oboda, "Al-burūj al-musheyyede" and "Tanbīh as-sālikīn ilā ghurūr al-mutasheyyikhīn" by Ḥassan of Qahib (Temir-Khan-Shura, 1906-1910), "Tabaqāt al-hvāzhkān an-naqshbandiye" and "Sirāj as sa'ādāt fi siyer as-sādāt" by Sho'eb of Baghini, "Najm al-anām" by Muhammed of Kikuni (Temir-Khan-Shura, 1902), "Al-āssār" by Muhammed of Yaragh (Temir-Khan-Shura, 1910), etc.

In the field of jurisprudence (fiqh), the most elaborated field of knowledge of the medieval Moslem world, the Daghestan jurists were not imitators or

were commentators. They worked out many questions of the fiqh independently. Some of these numerous works were printed in Istanbul, Cairo and Mecca.

Particularly interesting is the personality of Muhammed b. Mūsā of Quduq (died in the city of Haleb in 1716) who pursued his own course in science and critically treated various questions of the fiqh. He did not declare himself a Mujtahid, like his teacher Sālih of Yemen (died in 1108/1698), but unwilling blindly to imitate the Shafiite jurists he widely expressed his own opinion. He left numerous glosses on Moslem jurisprudence. Muhammed of Quduq won great popularity. People came to study under him not only from different Daghestan areas, but also from the region of the Volga Tatars, Circassia, the Northern Caucasus, etc. He was an encyclopaedist, the range of his interests covering not only theological but also secular sciences.

The best-known jurists in Daghestan of the 17th-18th centuries were Abubakr of 'Aymakī (died in 1790), 'Alī b. Hajī b. Muhammed (died in 1750), Davud of Ussi-sha (died in 1757), Ahmed al-Yemeni of Kumukh (died in 1451), author of the book "Vafq al-murād", Sha'bān b. Isma'īl of Oboda (died in 1638), Salmān of Tlokh

(died in the 17th century) et al. The best-known 19th century jurists include Muhammedtāhir of Qarakh, author of the book "Sharh al-mafrūz" (Temir-Khan-Shura, 1904), Muhammed'alī of Chokh, author of "Al-fetāvā al-chokhī" (Temir-Khan-Shura, 1902), Murtaẓā'alī of Orada, author of numerous fetvā, Hassan of Alqadar, author of "Jirāb al-Memnūn" (Temir-Khan-Shura, 1912), Muslim of Orada (died in the 20th century), et al.

In the 17th century Shirvan and Azarbayjan still retained their cultural influence on the Daghestan alims. Here there persisted the traditions of the most prominent mathematicians, astronomers and philosophers of the Maragha School -- Nassīr ad-dīn of Tūs, Abū al-faraj al-'ibrī, Farīd ad-dīn 'Alī of Shirvan, et al.

Towards the 18th century the local scientists actively spread the Arabic-language culture in Daghestan. The first of these -- Mallāmuḥammed of Gholoda (Zakatali), an encyclopaedically educated scientist, mathematician, philosopher, theologian and mystic, founded a school where the scientific works were studied in Arabic. He elaborated problems of theology on the basis of logic, philosophy and dialectics, and aided in popularizing the "Jihat al-vahdat", the work of the Shirvan scientist Muhammed Amīn.

He taught Greek philosophy, logic and theology to

"Alī of Qeleb who was very active in spreading science and written Arabic in Daghestan. He is the author of works in logic and dialectics (art of discussion) and theological philosophy, dozens of articles, many glosses, commentaries and separate pamphlets.

'Alī of Qeleb gave a philosophical education to Muḥammed b. Mūsā of Quduq, the father of the Daghestan 'alims, who organized a school where a group of future scientists was educated, including Muḥammed of Ubra, Muḥammed of 'Alīj (Shemaha), Maḥād of Chokh, Maḥād of Khuri, Davud of Ussisha, Isma'īl of Shinaz, et al.

Particularly interesting is the figure of the mathematician 'Issā of Shamghada (17th century) who received his education in the homeland and then studied under the Aghdash scientists Payzullāh in Shirvan. He associated with the well-known mathematician Behāuddīn al-Āmili (died in the 17th century) and acquainted the Daghestanians with his book of arithmetic - "The Quintessence of Counting" -- "Khulāssat al hissāb". "Issā is the author of a number of valuable works in mathematics, philosophy and logic.

Isma'īl of Shinaz, a close pupil of 'Issa and Mallā-muḥammed, is considered the first in Daghestan to teach the use of the astrolabe in measuring altitude. Only after he himself made an astrolabe and described its construction and methods of employment did his pupils begin to use it. Isma'īl is the author of nume-

rous glosses on mathematics, geometry, astronomy and philosophy.

Qurbān'alī of 'Akhachi (died in the 17th century), father of the school of Daghestan logicians and author of critical remarks on the work of the Shirvan logician Muhammed Amīn, was one of the scientists of the school of Mallāmuḥammed of Gholoda. His remarks had caused a discussion around the work of Muhammed Amīn and divided the Daghestan logicians into supporters and opponents of Muhammed Amīn. Qurbān'alī is an author of various glosses on logic and numerous works and glosses on philosophy and theology. Maḥdīmuḥammed of Soḡhratl has also left a big legacy on logic and philosophy.

Damadān b. Ya'qub of Mepeb (died in 1718) is considered the founder of the studies of mathematics, astronomy and medicine in Daghestan. He translated from the Persian into the Arabic 'Abdul'alī b. Muhammed Ḥossain al-Burzhandi's (928/1523) "Comments on Muqaddime of Ulughbek". It is a free translation noted for its laconic, clear and strict mathematical style. Damadān had an extensive knowledge of mathematics and natural science; in his works he set forth their fundamental principles in great detail, basing himself on Euclid's "Elements" or referring to the works of the prominent

eastern scientists (Nassīr ad-dīn of Tūs). He had extensive knowledge of trigonometry and in setting forth its principles accompanied them with his own conclusions. Damadān was a perfect master of the method of using proportions; he developed a compact theory of solving approximate, conjectural problems. He is the author of numerous comments, articles and critical notes on various works.

Mahād b. Ayyūb of Chokh (died in 1770) worked no less fruitfully. After receiving his education from Abūbakr of 'Aymakī he went to Al-Azhar in Egypt where he mastered mathematics, philosophy, astronomy and cosmography. Muhammed b. Utmān, one of Mahād's teachers, dedicated his book "Al-ishrāq" to Mahād. Mahād taught mathematics, philosophy, logic and astronomy in Daghestan and wrote a number of important works in these fields. Shaytān 'Abdullāh and Mahdīmuhammed of Soghratl, Dibīrqadi and Nūrmuhammed of Khunzakh, 'Omar and Hassan of Kudali, 'Abdulhalīm of Tsuysha, and other scientists were Mahād's pupils.

Well known among the learned astronomers of the 18th century were Zeyd of Kurkli, Marza'ali, of Akhti Davud of Qarabudakhkent, Muhammed Usseyd of Tindi, Sadiq of Ubra, Isma'il, Mama, Attihajī and Shamsuddīn of Kumukh, and many others.

The Daghestan scientists also devoted themselves to medicine. Most of the medieval treatises on medicine were known in Daghestan. Rahmānqulī of Akhti translated the treatise "Tuhfat al-mu'minīn ad-Deylemī" from the Persian into the Arabic. Nurmhammed, an Avarian scientist (died in 1834) translated it into the Kumyk language, while in the middle of the 19th century various books were translated into the Lak and Avarian languages.

The Russian scientist N. Pirogov highly esteemed the skill of the Daghestan surgeons and noted the profundity of their knowledge of Arabian medicine. Sayfullāh Bashlarov, a Lak scientist, compiled a dictionary of Arabian medical terms with their equivalents in Russian and German. Raffī, scientist from Shamghada, is the author of a work on medicine in which he summed up his many years' experience. The index of his work alone covers more than 400 pages. The surgeons Jabraīl of Untsukuli, the Gadzhiyevs from Qoroda, the Yussufovs from Yakhsai, Buttay of Soghratl, and many others won wide renown.

The historical works of the Daghestan scientists shed a light mainly on the epoch of Shamil. The best-known of these works are: "Bāriqat as-suyūf al-jabaliye" by Muhammedtāhie of Qarakh (published by the USSR Academy of Sciences under the editorship of aca-

demician I. Krachkovsky, 1940-1949), "Al-maghāzī" by Haydarbeg of Ghinichutl, "Khulāsat at-tafsīl" and "Chronicles" by 'Abdurrahmān of Kumukh, the "Epoch of Shamil" by Ishāq of Urma, "Al-khabar" by Khalīl of Anghida, "Āssāri Daghestan" by Hassan of Alqadar (published in the Azerbaijanian language in 1912, later twice translated into the Arabic), "Tuhfat al-ikhvān" by 'Alī of Salta, Jamāluddīnhajī of Qarabudakhkent, "Al-munkhul" by Hassan of Kudali, "Jadāvil at-tārīkh" by Mallā Ahmed b. Nurmuhammed of Tabassaran, 'Alī Qayayev, et al.

There were relatively few learned lexicographers in Daghestan. The most significant work was "Jāmi' al-lughatayn" -- a Persian-Turkic dictionary with comments in Arabic -- by Dibirqadi of Khunzakh. He was also the author of the "Tibyān al-lissān li ta'līm as-sibyān" -- a textbook for the study of Persian in Arabic. Abūssufyān of Qazanish repeatedly published his "Khamsat alsina" -- "Disctionary of Arabic-Kumyk-Avarian-Lak-Dargin Languages" and his big work "Al-khidmet al-mashkūre" (published in the city of Buy-naqsk in 1925).

Of the school grammars, with which the study of Arabic began in Daghestan, textbooks of Iranian authors were popular in the 18th century and textbooks from Arabian countries were popular in the 19th century.

They supplemented the works of the local alims. The works of the following Daghestan authors on questions of Arabian grammar should be mentioned: Muḥammed Manilau (died in 1770), Ḥassan of Kudali (died in 1700), Davud of Ussisha (died 1767), Muḥammed b. Mūsā of Quduq, Muḥammed'alī of Chokh (died 1902), Ibn Dibilav of Arakan (died in the 19th century), Yūnus of Inkho (died in the beginning of the 20th century), Ghazīmuḥammed of Qarakh (died in 1903), Qurbān'alī of Arghoani (died in the beginning of the 20th century), Abdullaṭīf Donogono (died in 1889), and of other scientists.

Arabian fiction came to Daghestan at the time general Arabian culture was on the decline. Local fiction (in Arabic) began to develop at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries. It grew up on local soil and depicted the history of Daghestan. Although the works of the Daghestan authors of this epoch have not entered the treasure-house of world literature, they were quite significant; they give vivid expression to local colour, are known for original devices, their language is often concise and expressive, and they are written, according to I. Krachkovsky, "not infrequently with great sharpness and power, which reminds us of the best samples of the classical epoch

of Arabian literature".

Two principal trends are clearly traced in the Daghestan literature of the 18th and 19th centuries written in Arabic.

The first of these trends is religious-clerical, formed under the strong influence of the religious Arabian literature. The representatives of this literature elaborated the traditional themes and motifs, interpreting them in the spirit of mystic ideas. The initiators of this trend in Daghestan were 'Alī of Kumukh (died in 1448) and 'Alī of Baghdadād (died in 1613). In the 18th and 19th centuries this trend was represented by Mallā Muhammed of Katruk, Sha'bān of Oboda (18th century), Aqāmīrza of Qagan, Dibīrqadi of Khunzakh (19th century), and others.

Simultaneously with the religious-clerical trend and in close cooperation with it another trend emerged and developed. This trend was represented by the works of poets, in which we find a response to real historical events. They sought to pose urgent socio-political problems. This literature shows features of national originality. Its most characteristic genres were the ḥamāssa, nassīb, madīḥ, zamāniyāt, hijā, etc.

This trend was represented by Sa'īd of Arakan, Hājīmuḥammed of Soghratl, 'Abdullatīf Donogono, Yūsuf

of Yakhsai, Mirza'alī of Akhti, Sheykhamīr of Kumukh, Hassan of Alqadar, and Imāmmuḥammed of Rihatl.

A new period in the Daghestan Arabian-language literature began early in the 20th century under the enormous influence of the great historical changes. In this respect the year 1905 may be considered the turning point, since it opened a new period in the Arabian-language literature in Daghestan. This epoch was marked, in the first place, by an extension of literary and ideological ties of the Arabian-language Daghestan literature, new cultural contacts, extensive acquaintance with the printed works of the Russian Moslems, primarily the Tatars, as well as with the works of Egyptian and Syrian authors.

The make-up, the type of the poet, of the author, also changed. As a rule, it was now an alim, a poet familiar with the works and ideas of the educated people in the other Moslem countries. This could not but contribute to the artistic and genre enrichment of literature.

The most brilliant figure among the Arab poets of Daghestan in the beginning of the 20th century was Muḥammed 'Abdurashīd of Arakan (died in 1928). He is the author of the poem "Yaum al-'avā" in which he depicts the battle of the Red Guerrillas with the Denikin bands

in the mountains of Daghestan in 1919; he also wrote odes, ghazel, elegies and satirical works. The poets who also wrote in Arabic in the beginning of the 20th century included Hassan Guzun, Fakhruddin of Arghoani, Isma'il of Sholani, Sheykh'alī of Soghratl, Muhammed-nūr and Makkasharif of Ghimra, Muhammed 'Omarī, and others

The development of the Arabian-language literature in Daghestan stopped with the spread of the written native languages, when there was no longer any need in Arabic as a peculiar means of intertribe written intercourse.

The character of the Arabian-language Daghestan literature was conditioned by peculiarities of the country's historical development. Developing as a provincial literature it is of great importance for the science of Daghestan, as a historical source and interesting material of literary criticism, and for general Arabian philology since it enables us to form a clear picture of the development of one of the collateral branches of Arabian literature.

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XXV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

PAPERS PRESENTED BY THE USSR DELEGATION

T. SHUMOVSKY

**FIFTEENTH CENTURY ARABIAN MARINE
ENCYCLOPEDIA**

ORIENTAL LITERATURE PUBLISHING HOUSE
Moscow 1960

The Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences is preparing for publication a critical edition of the "Book of Useful Instructions on the Principles and Rules of the Science of Navigation" or, briefly, "The Book of Useful Chapters" compiled between 1475 and 1490 by Ahmad b. Mājid, Arabian pilot. This work, covering in the basic manuscript 176 closely written pages in a small hand, consists of twelve "useful chapters" or sections with following contents.

1. Origin of navigation and of the magnetic needle.
2. Professional and ethical requirements for pilots.
3. Lunar mansions.
4. The windrose and the 32 rhumbs.
5. Ancient geographers and astronomers.
6. Sea routes.
7. Observations of stars.
8. Navigation of a ship.
9. Different sea-coasts; three categories of pilots.
10. The world's ten greatest islands -- Arabia, Madagascar, Sumatra, Java, Taiwan, Ceylon, Zanzibar, Bahrein, Socotra, Ibn Gawan (in the Persian Gulf).
- II. Monsoons and sailing.
12. A descriptive chart of the Red Sea.

This diverse subject matter and the author's thorough treatment of each theme make the "Book of Useful Chapters"

an encyclopaedia of 15th-century Oriental art of navigation. The book is a compendium navigation-experiences of the peoples of the Indian Ocean, from East Africa to South China, throughout many ages during which the Arabs were apparently distinguished by the wide scope of their activities, had consequently, collected a great store of knowledge.

The edition which is being prepared for publication consists of three parts: 1) Introduction, 2) Critical Arabic Text and Russian Translation with a commentary, and 3) Indices. The introduction endeavours to set forth concisely the history of the studies of Arabic literature on navigation to draw a general outline of the development of the art of sailing by pre-Islamic and then Moslem Arabs, and to sum up the impressions created by the studies of the text. The Russian translation accompanying the critically analysed text is supplied with a commentary which deal with the different subjects treated in this work -- geography and navigation, history and astronomy, literary criticism and materials pertaining to a biography of the author. Owing to the encyclopaedic nature of the work it was necessary to compile various indices, numbering close to a score, which constitute the last part of this edition.

The Arabic text of the edition of the "Book of Useful Chapters" has been prepared on the basis of two

manuscripts known at the present time -- one in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the other at the Library of the Arabian Academy of Sciences in Damascus. The Paris manuscript (No.2292 in de Slane's catalogue) was obtained by the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1860. Discovered by Gabriel Ferrand and Maurice Gaudefroy-De-mombynes in 1912, it was the first to be published phototypically in 1921-1923. It had been transcribed in 1576. In addition to the "Book of Useful Chapters" it contains 18 more works by the same Ahmad b.Mājid. The Damascus copy has been transcribed from the Paris manuscript and is supplied marginalia of a more recent date. Its existence became known in 1921 from the report of Sa'id al-Karmī published in the bulletin of the Arabian Academy of Sciences.

All through the 19th century the only important source of knowledge on the history of Arabian art of navigation was the famous "Muhīt" ("Encyclopaedia") by Sīdī 'Alī Ālebi, Turkish 16th-century admiral, discovered in the 1820's by J-Hammer-Purgstall. At that time Arabic geographical literature was thought to contain descriptions mainly of overland itineraries, while accounts of sea voyages were only of a casual and exotic nature. In the 20th century the situation changed. The manuscripts discovered in 1912, of which one has been kept in Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris without stirring any interest since

1860 and the other since the beginning of the 18th century, contained 17 works the art of navigation by Ahmad b. Mājid of Uman and Sulaimān b. Ahmad of Mahra (in South Arabia). Seven of the most important of these works served, as was noted by G. Ferrand, as Arabian sources for the Turkish "Muhīt", as Celabī himself admits in the preface to his encyclopaedic work. Thus, European traditionally high appraisal of the latter required reconsideration, but not so drastic a revision as that insisted upon by Ferrand who unjustly denied to this prominent Turkish work any independent value in the history of geographical knowledge.

Ferrand's works, devoted to analysis of various information gathered from the newly discovered texts, formed the basis of a new branch of Arabic philology -- the science of Arabic thalassography. I. Krachkovsky, eminent Soviet Arabist, later wrote: "I admired the skill with which Ferrand, the French orientalist, built this most interesting formerly unknown, chapter of 15th-century marine geography".¹⁾ In addition to his analysis of details, Ferrand carried out a phototypic edition of both Arabian navigation manuscripts discovered by him in the Bibliothèque. His premature death prevented him from carrying out a most important undertaking of epochal importance which he had been planning since the early 1920's, namely, a critical publication of the major texts

of Arabic marine literature. With his many years' experience in studying parallel texts and his knowledge of African, Indian and Far-Eastern languages he could have carried out this undertaking with his usual brilliance and resourcefulness.

The main result of his study of the discovered Arabian texts was his identification of the more distinguished author of the two found manuscripts, the steersman Ahmad b. Mājid of Oman, with the pilot of Vasco da Gama's first Portuguese expedition which reached India by sea in 1498. This discovery made by Ferrand unexpectedly revealed a new aspect of the history of reciprocal interdependence between the cultures of the East and the West and shed a new light on one of the main periods of the epoch of Great Discoveries. Joao da Barros, 16th century Portuguese historian, notes that when Vasco da Gama showed Ahmad b. Mājid the European navigation instruments, "the Moor was not in any way surprised" and in his turn acquainted the Portuguese admiral with complex instruments for measuring the elevation of the Sun and stars then used by the Red Sea pilots. The high level of the Arabian art of navigation was a natural result of its many ages of development. The Arabs, great seafarers of antiquity and the early Middle Ages, presented worlds navigation with a lateen which enabled the ships to sail against the wind and thus made it possible for Europeans

to accomplish their overseas voyages in the 15th and 16th centuries. Mankind owes the Arabic marine culture such concepts as admiral, arsenal, mizzen, cable, monsoon, galley, felucca, and anchor. Arabian astronomy, which was one of the foundations of navigation under sails, gave European astronomy more than 60 names of stars, including such well-known ones as Algol, Aldabaran, Altair, Arhar-nar, Betelgeuse, Vega, Mirzam, Riguel, and Fomalhaut. The Arabic designation of the astronomical degree -- isba' (finger) -- was adopted by Europeans in the form of its Latin equivalent -- pollex -- hence, the early Portuguese pollegada (pulgada); the Arabian bandar (port) was reflected in the Portuguese bandel.

Arabian navigation, whose sources recede thousands of years to the epoch of Babylonian and Phoenician seafaring expeditions, connected, as it developed, the countries of the Indian Ocean by economic and cultural ties. On ships fastened with coir Moslem merchants reached East Africa, Madagascar, India, Malacca, the islands of Indonesia, and the ports of South and Central China, everywhere establishing trade colonies. The sea-trade at the time of the Baghdad caliphate and the later dynasties, before the first Europeans came East, led to the creation of a united Indian-Ocean market which included the Moslem Mediterranean possessions. In the Mediterranean the Arab rulers -- from the Fatimids in the East to the Spanish

Omayyads in the West -- had powerful navies which on many occasions fought the armed forces of the Christian world. Military expedience led to constant technical improvements. Henry the Navigator, the prince of Portugal whose name is associated with the first geographical discoveries of the Portuguese in West Africa, made use of the experience of the Mediterranean Arab captains to improve his navigation instruments and charts. Arabian influence was also observed in the rigging of the European caravels. In the Indian Ocean the Arabian pilot Ahmad b. Mājid brought Vasco da Gama's ships from Malindi on the East-African coast to Calicut on the Indian coast in 26 days -- an unusually short time -- and furnished the medieval Europeans with an idea of the regular monsoons in this vast area.

The subsequent penetration of Europeans into India and the establishment of a western trade monopoly in the Eastern seas brought about the fall of traditional Arab trade and Ahmad b. Mājid, for whom the steerage of his country's merchant ships was his life-work, rued the fact that he had shown European travellers the sea route to India. "Oh, if only I had known what they were capable of!" he says in one of his last descriptive charts (which is in the Leningrad collection of rare manuscripts). This heart-felt cry essentially alters the conception of Ahmad b. Mājid's personality, formed on the basis of Ferrand's

studies. This rare Leningrad document was received by the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1819. In the middle of the 1920 it was discovered by I. Krachkovsky, who supervised its further study. In 1957 this text was published by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences with a Russian translation, and a commentary. The publication met with a lively response in the Soviet and foreign press something that attests a ready interest in undertakings of this kind.

This study of Ahmad b. Mājid though yet incomplete, enables us to reconstruct in general outline the story of his life and work. He was born in 1440. His father and grandfather, were also pilots, and came from Nejd in Central Arabia. They were mainly engaged in coasting navigation in the Red Sea area. Ahmad was born in Tulfar, a seaport in Iman. He worked on his father's ship while still a boy. In 1462 he wrote his first work, "Concise Course of the Principles of Navigation", where there is also a description of places lying beyond the Arabian waters.

At present about 25 works by Ahmad b. Mājid, are known, mainly descriptive charts of various routes. The most important part of this literary legacy is the "Book of Useful Chapters" completed in 1490, eight years before the author's participation in Vasco da Gama's expedition. Ferrand describes this book as the most brilliant and mature

mentioned once -- Ahmad b.al-Tamāl. This circumstance throws a new light on his statements and actions.

According to Ahmad b.Mājid, navigation originated in Biblical times -- "ships observing the course of the stars sailed the Red Sea as far back as the time of the Prophets" ("Book of Useful Chapters", ff.14a-14b). In these words one hears an echo of the voyages to Ophir and the famous Phoenician-Egyptian sea expedition round Africa in the 6th century B.C. not to speak of the earlier voyages to the Punt. The first ship was Noah's Ark; the astrolabe was invented by the Prophet Idrīs; the Lunar mansions and the stars connected with them were discovered by Daniel, and the magnetic inclination by David, "because he had an idea of iron and its properties" (f.5r); the last remark reflects the widespread version about David being the patron of Oriental metallurgy, this version being mentioned in the Koran. Of special interest in the historical chapter of the "Book of Useful Chapters" is the mention of a number of outstanding pilots of the Moslem period, whom Ahmad b.Mājid calls by name. The very first pages of the book exhibit the characteristic feature permeating the entire encyclopaedia of the Arabian seafarer, namely, his preference of personal experience to other people's accounts, to the traditional isnād. "They are writers and not creators", says the author about his predecessors. He points out that they steered ships only

on limited parts of the seas, that they received their information about foreign countries second-hand and that their descriptions therefore contained the defects of fiction stories, and their data needed verification, whereas the "Book of Useful Chapters" was authentic precisely because it was based from beginning to end on its author's personal experience.

The idea of verification by personal experience runs all through Ahmad b. Mājid's encyclopaedia. Precisely this idea, determining the fundamental difference between the literature on navigation and works on general geography requires from a pilot a complex combination of professional skill and moral qualities listed in the second "Useful Chapter". He must be aware of all the potentialities of his ship and of the route she is sailing. He must be able unerringly to read the boundless book of the sea, and be at one both humane and relentless. Parallel sources denote that these were the requirements of an ideal pilot also according to Indian ideas. Such, for instance, was Boddhisatva from the city of Bharucaccha, the famous port of Barygaza in the Hellenistic period, a pilot mentioned in Sylvain Levi's well-known work on the "Ramayana".

The general subject of Ahmad b. Mājid's encyclopaedia-- description of practical conditions of navigation throughout the Indian Ocean -- is of a strictly applied nature and is treated on the basis of experience. "...Know-

ledge...rests only on what you experienced yourself and saw with your own eyes" (f.59v). "It is impossible to know about a land without visiting it" (f.62r). Characterizing the art of navigation as a special sphere of human activity with peculiar methods of study, the author repeatedly emphasizes: "This science is based on intelligence and experience, and not on tradition" (f.16r), "In this science experience is everything" (f.48r), and "Experience is something that cannot be excelled by anything" (f.48v). These statements and a long series of similar ones were in no way declarative formulas or figures of speech; they were firm principles proved in life's tests and underlying the monumental edifice of Ahmad b. Mājid's marine encyclopaedia, to these principles he adheres through all his numerous works.

The title of this encyclopaedia -- "The Book of Useful Chapters" -- is quite significant in the sense that it shows the aim of the work which is not a purposeless exercise in style nor a fable made up from other people's accounts, but a universal guide for seamen based on the author's personal experience and therefore of a practical utility that justifies its existence. Thus, following Abd-ar-Rahman b. Ḥaldūn, his famous older contemporary, and a group of other progressive thinkers, Ahmad b. Mājid appears, especially in his main work, as a brilliant forerunner of the rationalists of the Renai-

essance. Whereas such stories as that of Sindbad the Seaman, or the "Wonders of India" by Buzurg b. Shahriyār, give only a romantic account of outward events, the "Book of Useful Chapters" depicts on its pages the grim, unvarnished, everyday life of the sea as it really is. But there is poetry in this tale -- it is the love for a difficult and dangerous occupation to which one's whole life is dedicated, and for continuous self-perfection. In this process experience is invariably of primary importance and generalization of secondary one.

The toponymic glossary for our text contains 1,072 names, of which many are unique, i.e. not confirmed by other historical documents, the toponymy of Malaya and the Indonesian islands being especially extensively elaborated. This illustrates the geographical range of Arabian seafarers. The list of marine terms consists of almost 1,000 words. It, thus, substantially supplements the existing dictionaries and in its turn denotes a high level of navigational development. The contents of the astronomical glossary equals in quantity the terminological list of Abd-ar-Rahmān as-Sufī's specialised work. A large number of names and literary references show the author's extensive historical and cultural background, his sources, and his wide personal ties.

The text of Ahmad b. Mājid's encyclopaedia runs in prose interspersed with 130 versified inclusions from one to nineteen lines each. These latter include verses of well-known poets, such as Abū Nuwās or Al-Aḥṭal, as

well as of those of less renown poets; sometimes the verses are anonymous. Quotations from Ahmad b. Mājid's other works constitute a special group. More often they are from his first book the "Concise Course of the Principles of Navigation" finished in 1462. The author's quotations from his own works enable us to add to the list of Ahmad b. Mājid's works thirteen new items, of whose former existence we know as yet only from their author. Only one or two lines have come down to us from each of these works, sometimes together with their titles. It follows that Ahmad b. Mājid, an outstanding master of practical navigation, subtle and exacting marine expert, was also a prominent theorist, author of at least 38 navigation manuals, the most important of which -- his encyclopaedia -- has by far outlived its time. Suffice it to say that, for instance, his descriptive chart of the Red Sea, which constitutes his last, 12th, "Useful Chapter", have not, as Ferrand emphasizes, been excelled either in accuracy or detail by any European manuals on navigation under sails.

The substance of the "Book of Useful Chapters" is as rich as it is complex. De Slane, one of the prominent orientologists of the 19th century, refused to delve into this manuscript, noting that "its language was too verbose and abounding in technical terms intelligible only to seamen of the Indian Ocean". To be sure, what necessa-

ry vitally important, intelligible, and close to the hearts of Ahmad b. Mājid's numerous fellowpilots some 500 years ago, removed from us in time, space, environment and language, has become a genuine riddle and requires great efforts to be solved. The author's thoughts are at times half-concealed, technical designations are quite often implied and therefore omitted, and the language is not always up to the classical standards. Of course, it is impossible that we should be able to give only undisputable solutions when in the past but few prominent students of history paid any attention to these problems. But despite all these obstacles the Arabists in our country have succeeded in gaining another important victory. The publication of the text of the "Book of Useful Chapters", collated with both existing manuscripts and supplied with extensive notes, and supplements is an important advance. It helps to place at general disposal a work of Arabic marine literature. The publication of these texts and the elucidation of the role played by the sea in the historical life of Arabia will make it possible better to appraise the outstanding contribution made by Arabian people to the treasury of human culture. The study and publication of the remaining works of the pilots Ahmad b. Mājid and his successor Sulaimān b. Ahmad of Mahra, and first of all the study and publication of this fundamental encyclopedia of Arabian ideas on navigation -- "The Book of Useful Chapters" -- should

therefore be considered one of the next objectives of modern Arabic philology.

I. Krachkovsky wrote: "The discovery of Ibn Mājid's and Sulaimān's works is an outstanding event not only in the studies of Arabic geographical literature, where it unexpectedly revealed one more page brilliant, but, I regret the last in chronological order. These manuscripts are similarly significant to the general history of human culture... They constitute the main and most important source of information about the South Seas at the end of the Middle Ages... On the whole they offer the most valuable summary of data on the history of navigation and trade in the South Seas during the period directly preceding the Portuguese conquest.

"In the books of Ibn Mājid and even Sulaimān, both of whom lived and wrote mostly at the time of Portuguese rule, only Oriental sources and methods are used; no influence of Portuguese sources can be traced. In contrast, the reverse influence is very strongly felt, since the very first advances of the Portuguese east of Cape of Good Hope acquainted them with the experience of the Arabs, and their oldest works in this field bear clear traces of borrowing".²⁾

The Arabic marine literature exerted a still greater and deeper influence in the East; it was particularly pronounced in the works of the Turkish navigators of the subsequent period.

- 1) Academician I. Krachkovsky, Selected Works, vol.1, p.76,
Moscow-Leningrad, 1955.
- 2) Ibid., vol.IV, pp.568-569, Moscow-Leningrad, 1957.

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XXV. INTERNATIONALER ORIENTALISTEN-KONGRESS

VORTRÄGE DER DELEGATION DER UdSSR

W. W. STRUVE

DIE FRAGE
DER EXISTENZ EINES PFEILORAKELS
IN SCHUMER

VERLAG FÜR ORIENTALISCHE LITERATUR
Moskau 1960

Die historische Wissenschaft hat schon lange die Bedeutung der Nachrichten anerkannt, welche Herodot über die Lebensweise und Kultur der Völker der von ihm besuchten Länder in seinem Geschichtswerk gegeben hat. Dieselbe Anerkennung gebührt auch, meiner Ansicht nach, dem von Hesekiel, dem Sohne Busis, in seinem Buch der Prophezeiungen Mitgeteilten über Babylonien, wohin er mit vielen anderen weggeführt worden war und wo er bis zu seinem Tode verblieb. Eine seiner Visionen, die für den Assyriologen von Bedeutung ist, bezieht sich auf die verschiedenen Arten der Wahrsagung, durch die der König von Babylonien die Zukunft erfuhr. Der Prophet erfuhr durch das Wort Jahwes, dass der König von Babel sich ein Orakel erfragt: "er schüttelt die Pfeile, befragt die Teraphim, beschaut die Leber" (Kap.21,26).

Da die Keilschrifttexte, wie es schien, weder von einem Pfeilorakel, noch einer Befragung der Teraphim berichten, so rief dies Zeugnis Hesekiels in der Keilschriftforschung gewisse Zweifel hervor.¹⁾

Ich meine aber, dass man die Existenz aller 3 Arten des Wahrsagens, die der König Babyloniens in der Vision Hesekiels anwandte, doch mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit in den Keilschriftquellen nachweisen kann. Tatsächlich, der Nachweis der Erwähnung des

Befragens der Teraphim in Keilschrifttexten berei-
tet keine Schwierigkeiten, wenn wir in den Teraphim²⁾
Götterabbildungen sehen, was ja durch einige Zeug-
nisse in der Bibel bestätigt wird.³⁾ Götterabbildun-
gen aber waren in Babylonien und Assyrien mit den An-
fragen über zukünftige Ereignisse, die die Könige den
Göttern vorlegten, verbunden. So erfahren wir aus den
bekannten Anfragen der Könige Asarhaddon und Assur-
banipal an den Gott Schamasch,⁴⁾ dass der Text der An-
frage vor die Abbildung des Gottes niedergelegt wur-
de⁵⁾ und dass durch diese Handlung offenbar die Gott-
heit selbst vom König über die zukünftigen Ereignisse
befragt wurde. Bedeutend schwieriger ist der Nachweis
der Existenz eines Pfeilorakels in den Keilschriftquel-
len.

Der Keilschrifttext, in dem, wie ich glaube, das
Wort "Pfeil" in Verbindung mit einer Wahrsagung er-
wähnt wird, ist die sogenannte "Ovale Platte".⁶⁾ Diese
Inscription berichtet über Reformen, die in einem Zusam-
menhang mit den Reformen stehen, die die Kegel A, B und
C Urukaginas, des Königs von Lagasch, behandeln. Die
Inscription bereitet dem Verständnis grosse Schwierig-
keiten, teils infolge ihrer mangelhaften Erhaltung,
teils infolge der nicht leichten Deutbarkeit ihres
Wortbestandes.⁷⁾

Das Wort "Pfeil" wird erwähnt im 30. Fach der III.
Kolumne unserer Inschrift. Diesem Fach folgt im Text

der Inschrift eine grosse Lücke. Der Satz, in dem das Wort "Pfeil" eingeschlossen ist, beginnt mit dem 25. Fach der III. Kolumne,⁸⁾ und ich werde deshalb den ganzen Text III, 25-30, anführen, um den Text des 30. Faches, welches das Wort "Pfeil" erwähnt, richtig zu interpretieren.

"(25)ensi (26)igi-du₈(27)nig₂-šub(28)nagar ki-a du₃-du₃(29)inim dingir-re₂-ne-ka(30)ti-urudu-be₂-da".

Das erste Wort "ensi", der phonetische Wert der ideographischen Gruppe EN-ME-LI, entspricht im Akkadischen "ša'ilu" "Befrager",⁹⁾ d.h. "Befrager (der Gottheit)". Gemäss der Meinung einiger Gelehrten war der Priester "ensi", resp. "ša'ilu", ein Traumdeuter,¹⁰⁾ doch ich glaube, ebenso wie die Mehrzahl der Forscher, dass die Wahrsagerkunst dieses Priesters weitere Grenzen umfasst.¹¹⁾ In der ideographischen Gruppe EN-ME-LI gibt es kein Ideogramm des Wortes "Traum" (MAŠ-GIG "Sehen der Nacht").¹²⁾ Deshalb bin ich geneigt im "ensi", resp. "ša'ilu", nicht nur einen Traumdeuter zu sehen, sondern auch einen Deuter von Erscheinungen, die nicht durch den Priester beeinflusst wurden, wie ungewöhnliche Erscheinungen in der Natur oder in der Gesellschaft.¹³⁾ Der Priester "ensi" nahm in der schumerischen Gesellschaft offenbar eine hohe Stellung ein, da ein Träger dieses Priestertitels in den Wirtschafts-

texten des Tempels der Göttin Baba nur 1-2 Mal erwähnt wird.¹⁴⁾ Der "ensi", resp. "ša'ilu", wird in den akkadischen Texten genannt zusammen mit solchen geachteten Priestern, wie die "bârû" "Beschauer", die auf Grund des "Beschauens" der Leber eines Opfertieres und der Formen von Öltropfen in einer Schale mit Wasser wahreagten.¹⁵⁾ Ich glaube, dass der Priester "ensi" auch in den angeführten Fächern der Inschrift der Ovalen Platte zusammen mit dem "bârû"-Priester, dem "Beschauer", genannt wird. Tatsächlich, der "igi-du_g", welcher im angeführten Texte der Ovalen Platte unmittelbar auf den "ensi" folgt, kann ungezwungen, wie wir weiter sehen werden, mit dem "bârû" "Beschauer" der akkadischen Texte zusammengestellt werden.

Ebenso wie der "ensi", wird auch der "igi-du_g" selten in den Wirtschaftstexten des Tempels der Göttin Baba genannt. Freilich, er wird in diesen Texten häufiger, als der "ensi" erwähnt, aber der in ihnen erwähnte "igi-du_g" ist eine und dieselbe Person mit dem Namen E₂-ul-li.¹⁶⁾

Offenbar war die Stellung des "igi-du_g" "des die Augen erhebenden", das heisst "des Sehenden", in Lagasch der Zeit Urukaginas eine sehr hohe, wenn unter den etwa 360 Vertretern des freien Tempelpersonals der Göttin Baba¹⁷⁾ sich nur ein "igi-du_g" befand. Für die Zusammenstellung des "igi-du_g" mit der in Babylonien

so geachteten und angesehenen Priesterklasse der "bârû" "der Beschauer" spricht der Text der folgenden 27. Zeile "nig₂-šub-šub". Freilich, gemäss der Meinung einiger Forscher, bezieht sich dieser Text nicht auf den "igi-du₈" der vorhergehenden Zeile, sondern entspricht dem Namen einer anderen Priesterklasse, die mit dem "Stossen" von etwas ¹⁸⁾ zu tun hatte. Ich aber bin der Meinung, dass "nig₂-šub-šub" ein zusammengesetztes Nomen ist, das aus dem Präfix "nig₂" und dem Nomen "šub-šub" besteht. ¹⁹⁾ Dieses Letztere möchte ich mit dem akkadischen "tertu" ²⁰⁾ "Omen", "Vorzeichen", "Eingeweideschau" u.s.w. zusammenstellen. ²¹⁾ Diese Übersetzung des Wortes in der Zeile 27 gibt mir die Möglichkeit, in dem Ausdrucke "igi-du₈ nig₂-šub-šub" den "Beschauer der Eingeweide eines Opfertieres" ²²⁾ zu sehen, und ich erhalte somit in diesem Falle eine genaue Entsprechung zum akkadischen "bârû", der ja bekanntlich die Zukunft auf Grund der Eingeweideschau feststellte.

Wenn der "igi-du₈" also eine Entsprechung des babylonischen "bârû"-Priesters ist, so kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, dass der "igi-du₈" ein Priester war, ²³⁾ gleich dem vorhergenannten "ensi". Wenn aber der "ensi" und der "igi-du₈" Priester waren, so ist schon a priori wahrscheinlich, dass auch der an dritter Stelle genannte "nagar ki-a du₃-du₃" Vertreter einer der zahlreichen schumerischen Priesterklassen war. Freilich, das Wort "nagar", das von den akkadischen Semiten als

"naggaru, nangaru, nangaru" entlehnt wurde mit der Bedeutung "Schreiner, Tischler, Bauhandwerker" hatte scheinbar gar keine Beziehung zu irgend einer Priestertätigkeit. Doch schon F.Thureau-Dangin äusserte die scharfsinnige Vermutung, dass man zum Verständnis des Kontextes, welcher im gegebenen Falle das Wort "nagar" einschliesst, an den "pontifex", den römischen Oberpriester, denken soll.²⁴⁾

Die von dem französischen Schumerologen vorgeschlagene Etymologie entspricht der Meinung der römischen Gelehrten (Varro, Livius u.s.w.), die in dem "pontifex" einen "Brückenbauer" sahen und das Wort also von "pons" und "facio" ableiteten.²⁵⁾ Gemäss ihrer Meinung, hatte der Pontifex ursprünglich die Erbauung und danach die Wiederherstellung der Pfahlbrücke in Rom - Pons Sublicius - zu überwachen. Diese Brücke hatte für das religiöse Leben Roms eine hervorragende Bedeutung.²⁶⁾

Meiner Meinung nach stand auch der "nagar" im Text der "Ovalen Platte" in Beziehung zur Errichtung einer Pfahlbrücke. Er war ja, gemäss dem Zeugnis der Inschrift, "ki-a du₃-du₃", ein "auf dem ki-a bauender". Das zusammengesetzte Wort "ki-a" kann man aber als "Platz-Wasser"²⁷⁾ übersetzen und folglich kann man den ganzen Ausdruck "ki-a du₃-du₃" als "auf dem Platz-Wasser bauender" interpretieren. Der "auf dem Platz-

Wasser bauende nagar" kann also mit dem römischen Pontifex verglichen werden, der in dem Flusse die Pfähle einer Brücke befestigte.²⁸⁾

Zweifellos waren die Bauarbeiten und besonders die Errichtung von Brücken mit magischen Handlungen verbunden, um den Willen der Götter zu erforschen.²⁹⁾ Deshalb ist es ganz natürlich, dass in dem folgenden 29. Fache der III. Kolumne der «Ovalen Platte» von dem "inim dingir-re₂-ne-ka", "dem Worte (resp. Befehle) der Götter" die Rede ist und dass in den weiteren Fächern der Inschrift hingewiesen wird, auf welche Weise der "auf dem Platz-Wasser bauende nagar" den Befehl der Götter feststellte. Leider bricht nach dem 30. Fach der Text der Inschrift ab. Inhalt des genannten Faches ist folgender: "ti-urudu-be₂-d/a]", "zusam[men] mit ihrem (d.h. der Götter) Pfeil (aus) Kupfer". Die zerstörte 31. Zeile wird wohl, meine ich, das Partizipium des Verbums "zu" enthalten haben, und der ganze auf den "nagar" sich beziehende Text wird dann in folgender Weise zu lesen sein: "(28)nagar ki-a du₃-du₃(29)inim dingir-re₂-ne-ka(30)ti-urudu-be₂-d/a] (31) [zu]..." (28)der Bauhandwerker, auf dem Platz-Wasser bauender, (29)den Befehl der Götter (30)zusam[men] mit ihrem (d.h. der Götter) Pfeil (aus) Kupfer (31) [erkennender]...

Bei dieser Interpretation des auf den "nagar" bezüglichen Textes erhalten wir ein unzweideutiges

Zeugnis für die Existenz bei den Schumerern eines Pfeilorakels, das bis jetzt nur vom Propheten Hesekiel erwähnt worden war.³⁰⁾ Jetzt aber erhalten wir in einer Inschrift Urukaginas das Zeugnis, dass ein Pfeilorakel durch den "nagar" "Bauhandwerker" bei der Errichtung eines Baues im "Platz-Wasser" ausgeführt wurde.³¹⁾

Die Bestätigung meiner Interpretation der Fächer 28-30 der III. Kolumne der «Ovalen Platte» als Beweis für die Existenz eines Pfeilorakels hoffe ich im Inhalt einer anderen schumerischen Inschrift zu finden. Ich glaube nämlich, dass in der berühmten Geierstele die Ausführung eines Pfeilorakels erwähnt wird³²⁾. Ich finde diese Erwähnung in den Fächern 1-7 der IX. Kolumne der Vorderseite des genannten Denkmals. Der Text dieser 7 Fächer ist im buchstäblichen Sinne des Wortes eine Oase in der Wüste, da die vorhergehenden 18 Fächer der VIII. Kolumne völlig zerstört sind und die nachfolgenden II Fächer der IX. Kolumne entweder ganz, oder teils zerstört sind. Nichtsdestoweniger gibt der Text der genannten 7 Fächer dem Forscher die Möglichkeit der Feststellung einer der wesentlichen Episoden des historischen Ereignisses, das in der Geierstele verewigt worden ist. Ihr Text hat sich zum Glück sehr gut erhalten: "(1) giš UR-UR³³⁾ -e e-dalal (2) e₂-an-na-tum₂-ra(3)lu₂ ti³⁴⁾ mu-ni-ra (4) ti³⁵⁾-ta e-ta-si (5) mu-tar³⁶⁾ (6)igi-ba I₁₇³⁷⁾

-bi₂-ka + ERIN - KA + <ERIN>³⁸⁾ (7) lu₂ e-lil³⁹⁾.
 "(1) Das Holz beim Kampf⁴⁰⁾ er (d.h. Eannatum)
 zusammen mit ihm (d.h. dem Herrscher von Umma)
 ergriff⁴¹⁾. (2) Für Eannatum⁴²⁾ (3) ein Mann einen
 Pfeil hier aufdrückte (4) durch den Pfeil er er-
 öffnete⁴³⁾, (5) er entschied⁴⁴⁾. (6) Vor ihnen
 (d.h. Eannatum und seinen Kriegern) wurde nicht
 gekämpft⁴⁵⁾. (7) Der Mann jubelte⁴⁶⁾.

Durch die von mir vorgeschlagene Interpretation
 erhalten wir im Text der ersten 7 Fächer der IX. Ko-
 lumne der Geierstele ein weiteres Zeugnis für die
 Existenz eines Pfeilorakels bei den Schumerern und
 hiermit eine Bestätigung der oben angeführten Inter-
 pretation der Fächer 25-30 der III. Kolumne der Ova-
 len Platte.»

Jedoch hat im Jahre 1957 der amerikanische Schu-
 merologe Th.Jacobsen eine andere Interpretation des
 Anfangs der IX. Kolumne der Vorderseite der Geierste-
 le vorgeschlagen, und es ist meine Pflicht zu der Über-
 setzung des genannten hochverdienten Gelehrten Stel-
 lung zu nehmen.⁴⁷⁾ Die Übersetzung von Th.Jacobsen des
 Textes dieser Stelle der Geierstele⁴⁸⁾ lautet folgen-
 dermassen: "Gegen Eannatum schoss ein Mann einen
 Pfeil, und er wurde schwach von dem Pfeil; er brach
 ihn ab, aber er konnte den Kampf in der vorderen Rei-
 he (buchstäblich "vor ihnen") nicht fortsetzen. Der
 Mann (erhob) einen Triumphgesang". Die Bestätigung sei-

ner Interpretation dieser Stelle der Geierstele findet Th.Jacobsen im Text der Fächer 17-18 ihrer XI. Kolumne, in denen berichtet wird, dass die Göttin, die persönliche Schutzgottheit Eannatums, "effektive Tränen" vergoss.

Die Anerkennung der Übersetzung, welche Th.Jacobsen vorgeschlagen hat, stösst auf einige Hindernisse. Das erste ersehe ich in der Bedeutung "gegen", die der Postposition "-ra" gegeben wird, statt der gewöhnlichen "für".⁴⁹⁾ Das zweite Hindernis besteht, wie ich glaube, in der Lesung der Verbalform im Fache 5 "mu-haš" "er brach ab", statt der von mir vorgeschlagenen Lesung "mu-tar" "er entschied". Es ist nämlich nicht leicht zu verstehen, dass ein von einem Pfeil verwundeter Mensch den Pfeil abbricht, statt ihn aus der Wunde herauszuziehen. Endlich, das dritte und wesentlichste Hindernis für die Anerkennung der von Th.Jacobsen vorgeschlagenen Interpretation ersehe ich in dem Umstande, dass diese Übersetzung der genannten Stelle der Geierstele einen Text ergibt, der in einer Siegesinschrift eines schumerischen oder überhaupt eines altorientalischen Herrschers unmöglich ist. Man kann sich, tatsächlich, nicht vorstellen, dass in der Inschrift auf einer steinernen Stele mit ihrem "lapidaren" Stil, welche einen glänzenden Sieg des Herrschers eines schumerischen Stadt-Staates verherrlicht, eine Verwundung des siegreichen Herrschers vermerkt worden war. Ebenso unmöglich ist in einer derartigen Inschrift die Erwähnung

eines Triumphgesanges des feindlichen Kriegers, welcher dem Herrscher, dessen Sieg die Inschrift preist, eine schwere Wunde beigebracht hat. Wir haben ja in der Inschrift des Kegels Entemenas ein drastisches Beispiel dafür, wie ein schumerischer Historiker eine Niederlage Eannatum II nicht zu erwähnen verstand:⁵⁰⁾ hier (III, 5-10) wird nur hingewiesen, dass Eannatum zur Waffe griff, und unmittelbar danach geht der Bericht der Inschrift zur Beschreibung des siegreichen Krieges seines Sohnes Entemena über.⁵¹⁾

Th. Jacobsen fand, wie ich schon oben erwähnte, eine Bestätigung seiner Interpretation der genannten Stelle der Geierstele in dem Hinweis auf die Fächer 16-18 der XI. Kolumne derselben Inschrift, die darüber berichten, dass die Göttin, die Beschützerin Eannatums, über ihn, gemäss der Übersetzung Jacobsons, "effektive Tränen" vergoss. Ich glaube aber, dass diese von der Göttin vergossenen Tränen in keinem Zusammenhang mit einer Verwundung Eannatums stehen, weil einer derartigen Vermutung der vorhergehende Kontext widerspricht. Zwar ist die Erhaltung des Letzteren wenig befriedigend, jedoch der Text der unmittelbar vorhergehenden Fächer hat sich soweit erhalten, dass man in ihm die Erwähnung der Aufschüttung von 20 Leichenhügeln erkennen kann. Nun sind diese 20 Leichenhügel zweifellos die Leichenhügel, die

Eannatum nach der siegreichen Schlacht mit dem in das Gebiet von Lagasch eingedrungenen Heere Ummas aufwerfen liess.⁵²⁾ In dieser Schlacht kann von einer Verwundung Eannatums keine Rede sein. Deshalb waren auch die Tränen, die die Schutzgottheit Eannatums vergoss, "dug₃-ga" "gute", also, offenbar, Tränen der Freude. Man kann wohl kaum annehmen, dass der Schumerer den Tränen der Schutzgottheit über die Verwundung ihres Schützlings das Epitheton "dug₃-ga" "gut", "süss", "fröhlich", "schön" beilegen konnte.⁵³⁾

Ich bin auch der Meinung, dass wir in den Reliefabbildungen der Rückseite der Geierstele keinen Hinweis auf eine Verwundung Eannatums finden können.⁵⁴⁾ Wir sehen nämlich in der zweiten Reihe der Rückseite der Geierstele Eannatum zu Fuss gehen, an der Spitze seiner Krieger, die in eine Phalanx gegliedert sind. In der dritten Reihe erscheinen die Krieger von Lagasch in Marschordnung mit ihren Speeren auf den Schultern und vor ihnen fährt ein Kriegswagen, in dem Eannatum mit erhobenem Speer steht, also auch hier offensichtlich nicht verwundet.⁵⁵⁾

Auf Grund von allem Obenangeführten glaube ich mich im Recht, in der genannten Stelle der Geierstele das Zeugnis von einem Pfeilorakel und nicht den Bericht von einer Verwundung Eannatums zu sehen. Zum Schluss möchte ich den von mir interpretierten Text der Fächer

1-7 der Kolumne IX der Vorderseite der Geierstele in den vorhergehenden und nachfolgenden Text der Inschrift einfügen. In dem vorhergehenden Teile der Inschrift, angefangen von der VI. Kolumne, war die Rede vom Traume Eannatums, und danach wurde über die siegreiche Schlacht mit dem in das Gebiet von Lagasch ein gedungenen Heere von Umma berichtet. Nach dieser Niederlage zog sich der Feind, offensichtlich in Anbetracht der schweren Verluste, in sein Gebiet zurück. Dem zurückweichenden Feind verfolgte das Heer von Lagasch, das nun seinerseits die Absicht hatte, in das Gebiet von Umma einzudringen. Vor den Augen beider Heere befragte ein Krieger von Lagasch den Willen der Götter mit Hilfe eines Pfeilorakels.⁵⁶⁾ Das günstige Ergebnis des Orakels zum Wohle Eannatums und seines Heeres zwang den Herrscher von Umma, auf einen zweiten Kampf zu verzichten und eiligst Frieden mit Lagasch zu schliessen. Das hatte zur Folge, dass Eannatum "in der Richtung zum Gebiet von Umma nicht sass", wie es im historiographischen Teile der Inschrift der Kegel Entemenas betont wird (II, 9-10): "(9)edin-umma^{ki}-še, (10)nu-tuš" "in der Richtung zum Gebiet von Umma er (Eannatum) sass nicht (d.h. er belagerte nicht)⁵⁷⁾". Ich bin ans Ende meiner Untersuchung gekommen. Wenn ihr Ergebnis annehmbar ist, kann sie das oben angeführte Zeugnis Hesekiels vom Pfeilorakel in Babylonien bestätigen.⁵⁸⁾

W.Struve.

ANMERKUNGEN

- 1) So hat M.Jastrow, der Verfasser des monumentalen Werkes "Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens", Giessen, 1912 (Abkürzung RBA), im Letzteren das eben zitierte Zeugnis Hesekiels vom Pfeilorakel in Babylonien gar nicht erwähnt und hiermit seinem Werk die erschöpfende Behandlung der babylonischen Vorzeichenlehre entzogen. Br.Meissner, der Schöpfer des schönen Werkes von der Kultur Babyloniens, vergass zwar nicht, das Zeugnis Hesekiels zu erwähnen, aber gleichzeitig damit betonte er, dass im Gegensatz zur Leberschau, die Orakel mit Hilfe der Teraphim und der Pfeile "in keilinschriftlichen Quellen bisher noch nicht sicher nachzuweisen sind". S.Br.Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien, II, Heidelberg, 1925, S.275. Abkürzung des genannten Werkes - BA.
- 2) Die Bibelstellen, welche die Teraphim erwähnen, sind aufgezählt in B.Stade, Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments, Tübingen, 1905, S.121.
- 3) W.F.Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, Baltimore, 1942, S.114.
- 4) J.A.Knudtzon, Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott für Staat und königliches Haus aus der Zeit Asarhaddons und Assurbanipals (2 Bände, Leipzig, 1893).

- 5) M.Jastrow, RBA, II, 2 Hälfte, S.175.
- 6) Sie wird von allen Schumerologen den historischen Inschriften Urukaginas zugezählt, obgleich in dem erhaltenen Teile der "Ovalen Platte" der Name des königlichen Reformators nicht genannt, dafür aber der Name Urlummas, des Zeitgenossen Entemenas, erwähnt wird. In einer meiner nächsten Untersuchungen werde ich versuchen, einwandfrei nachzuweisen, dass die "Ovale Platte" tatsächlich der Gruppe der historischen Inschriften Urukaginas zugehört.
- 7) Das Verdienst der ersten Interpretation dieses schwierigen Textes gebührt F.Thureau-Dangin, Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften (Abkürzung SAKI), Leipzig, 1907, S.54-57. A.Deimel, Die Reformtexte Urukaginas, Rom, 1920 in der I Serie der "Orientalia", Heft 2 (Abkürzung Or.2), S.9-10, fügte in der teilweisen Übersetzung dieses Textes verhältnismässig wenig Neues zu der Interpretation von Thureau-Dangin. I.M.Diakonoff, Die Reformen Urukaginas in Lagasch (russisch in der Zeitschrift "Westnik Drevnej Istorii", 1951, N 1, S.27 ff.) gibt die volle Übersetzung des Teiles der Inschrift, der die Missbräuche der Zeit vor Urukagina und die Reformen Urukaginas behandelt. E.Sollberger hat

fast den ganzen Text der "Ovalen Platte" in den einzelnen Abschnitten seines Buches "Le système verbal dans les inscriptions "royales" présargoniques de Lagas" (Abkürzung SV), Genève, 1952, übersetzt. M.Lambert hat in seinem Aufsatz "Les "réformes" d'Urukagina" (R.A.L., 1956, S.174 ff.), dem Beispiel A.Deimels folgend, den Inhalt der Reformtexte Urukaginas in entsprechende Paragraphen eingeteilt und in ihnen den Inhalt der "Ovalen Platte" behandelt. Die von I.M.Diakonoff gegebene Übersetzung einiger Abschnitte der "Ovalen Platte" in seiner Arbeit "Some remarks on the "reforms" of Urukagina" (R.Ass.L.II, 1958, S.1 ff.) entspricht im Wesentlichen der Übersetzung, die er, wie ich oben gesagt habe, im Jahre 1951 vorgeschlagen hat.

- 8) Der Text der unmittelbar vorhergehenden Fächer 14-24 der III. Kolumne der "Ovalen Platte" enthielt Reformen, die sich auf das Familienleben bezogen und das Ziel verfolgten, das patriarchalische System zu festigen. Der Interpretation dieser Stelle des Textes der "Ovalen Platte" ist meine Untersuchung gewidmet, die in der Festschrift zu Ehren des Akademikers J.A.Orbeli veröffentlicht wird.

- 9) Š.L. 99,253 "Orakelbefrager".
- 10) Br.Meissner, BA II, S.66 und I.M.Diakonoff, Westnik Drevnej Istorii, 1951, N 1, S.28.
- 11) M.Jastrow, RBA 1, S.475, 11, S.529, 800; F. Delitzsch, Sumerisches Glossar, Leipzig, 1914, S.36 s.v. ensi; A.Deimel, Or.2, S.30. Br.Meissner selbst (BA II, S.243) nennt neben dem "Fragepriester (šailu)" auch "den Traumdeuter (pāsir šunāti)".
- 12) S.Gudea, Zylinder A, I, 17 und 27. Zur Analyse des Ideogramms "EN-ME-LI" s.F.Delitzsch, 1.c., S.36 s.v."ensi".
- 13) Die Übersetzung des Textes, wo derartige Vorzeichen gesammelt waren, gab M.Jastrow, RBA II, S. 965 ff. Er wunderte sich (S.969), dass Leberschauomina in diesem Texte nicht erwähnt werden, aber die Deutung dieser Omina war die Aufgabe einer anderen Priesterklasse, s.weiter unten.
- 14) H.de Genouillac, Tablettes sumeriennes archaiques, Paris, 1909, S.115 s.v. Me-ninni folgend, glaube ich, dass die ideographische Gruppe ME-EN-LI in RTC 61, RückS. IV, 5 mit EN-ME-LI zu identifizieren und deshalb "ensi" zu lesen ist. A.Deimel, Analecta Orientalia 2, 1931, S.16 liest in der Transkription des Documents RTC 61, RückS. IV, 5 "me-en-li". Der Name dieses ensi ist Meninni. Ein Mann mit diesem Namen, aber ohne Titel ensi, wird in dem Text

Nik. 117, II, 3 genannt. In dem Dokument Fö. 180, 1, 5 wird der Titel ensi erwähnt, aber ohne den vorhergehenden Namen.

- 15) In dem in RBA II, S. 27 übersetzten Texte wird der sailu-Priester zusammen mit dem bārû-Priester genannt. Der Text in RBA II, S. 130 erwähnt ihn zusammen mit dem bārû und dem Beschwörer (ašipu). Schliesslich, im Text (RBA II, S. 125) wird er zusammen mit dem bārû, dem Beschwörer, und dem zakiku-Priester erwähnt.
- 16) Er wird genannt in den Dokumenten DP 124 (Lugalanda 3 J.), DP 125 (Lugalanda 6 J.), Amherst 2 (Urukagina 1 J.), VAT 4858 (Urukagina 1 J.), DP 126 (Urukagina 3 J.). Im Texte Fö. 180, V, 4-5 (Lugalanda 2 J.) wird ein igi-du₈ mit dem Namen e₂-nun-ni erwähnt, aber ich glaube, dass dieser Name einer Variante des Namens e₂-ul-li entspricht: e₂-ul_x-li₂.
- 17) S. die Berechnung der Zahl des freien Wirtschaftspersonals des Tempels der Göttin Baba in meiner Untersuchung "Die Bedeutung der Sklavenarbeit in der Tempelwirtschaft des vorsargonischen Schumers (russisch in der Zeitschrift "Woprossy Istorii", 1960, N 1).
- 18) A. Deimel, Or. 2, S. 30b; A. Deimel, S. L. 597, 90; I. M. Diakonoff (Westnik Drevnej Istorii) 1951, N 1, S. 28: "Los-Wahriger (??)". In der entsprechenden

Anmerkung gibt er folgende Erklärung seiner Übersetzung: "nig₂-šub-šub", buchstäbl. "etwas, (bezügliches auf) das Werfen". Offenbar bestand er aber nicht auf seiner Interpretation, da er die Anmerkung folgendermassen beschliesst: "Übersetzung gemäss dem Kontext".

- 19) In einer Reihe von Fällen wird die Genitiv-Verbindung des Präfixes nig₂ mit dem Nomen vermerkt, wie z.B., nig₂-dim-dim-ma, aber in anderen Fällen gibt der Schreiber nicht den entsprechenden Hinweis, vgl., z.B., nig₂-tug, nig₂-tug₂, nig₂-tab u.s.w. S.Labat, Manuel d'epigraphie akkadienne, Paris, 1952, S.245, wo Beispiele derartiger zusammengesetzter Nomina angeführt sind.
- 20) F.Delitzsch, Sumer. Glossar, S.268 in der erweiterten Form "šub-šub-bu".
- 21) S., z.B., C.Bezold, Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar, S.8.
- 22) Vgl. auch "maš-šububu", das ebenfalls dem akkadischen "bārā" "Seher" entspricht (Br.Meissner, BA II, S.65). Vgl. auch "nam-šub" "Beschwörung" im Zylinder A, XXVII, 12 Gudea's (A.Falkenstein, Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagas, 1, Rom, 1949, § 17d (S.62).
- 23) A.Deimel, Or.2, S.30 zweifelt daran, dass der igi-du₈ zu den Priestern gehörte.

- 24) SAKI, S.54, Anm.1. Er weist auf eine Bemerkung H.Winklers hin.
- 25) Die meisten Gelehrten des XIX Jahrh., unter ihnen auch ein so hervorragender Forscher, wie Th.Momm-
sen, folgten der Hypothese der altrömischen
Gelehrten.
- 26) S. die treffliche Abhandlung von N.P.Obnorski
"Pontifex" im russischen Konversations-Lexikon
von Brockhaus-Efron, B.XXIV, S.533b.
- 27) Vgl. den Terminus "ki-a" in den Dokumenten RTC 75
und P8.170 "Platz-Wasser". Hier bezeichnet dieser
Terminus das Land, welches in den Überschwemmungs-
monaten vom Wasser überflutet wurde, im Gegensatz
zu den Feldern "gana₂-ga", die nicht am Ufer des
Flusses und der Kanäle lagen und deshalb durch
Brunnen bewässert wurden. Vgl. meine Untersuchung
über die Felder "gana₂-ga" im "Westnik Drevnej
Istorii", 1959, N 2 und 3. Zu "ki-a" s. auch Š.L.
461, 281d, das diesen Terminus mit dem akkadischen
"kirbu", resp. "qepru", zusammenstellt. Das Letzte-
re bedeutet, gemäss Bezold, Babylonisch-Akkadisches
Glossar, S.245a: "(Abschnitt des Landes an einer
Wasserader=) Uferstrich, Ufer (eines Flusses oder
Kanals nari)".
- 28) In Schumer mit seinen zahlreichen Kanälen mussten
die Brücken zweifellos eine grosse Rolle auch im

Kultus spielen, da die feierlichen Tempelpro-
zessionen nur mit Mühe in Booten an das andere
Ufer übergeführt werden konnten. Natürlich hatte
der "nagar", neben der Errichtung von Brücken, auch
andere Bauarbeiten auszuführen, und deshalb wer-
den in den Dokumenten des Tempels der Göttin Baba
verschiedene Kategorien der "nagar" genannt. Vgl.
RTC 22, wo "nagar-urudu-mud", "nagar-ha-har-na",
resp. "nagar-kin-kin-na", "nagar-ga₅-la" auf-
geführt werden. Für die vielseitige Tätigkeit des
"nagar" spricht das Faktum, dass der "nagar" Lugal-
geštin, welcher dem Wirtschaftspersonal der Gim-
baba, der ältesten Tochter Urukaginas angehörte,
gleichzeitig auch das "Haupt des Pfluges" ("sag-
apin") war, d.h. dass er Ackerbauarbeiten auszu-
führen hatte.

- 29) Deshalb wurden in Rom "die Erbauer der Brücke" zu
"Oberpriestern". S. ebenfalls die Bemerkung I.M.Dia-
konoffs zu "ki-a du₃-du₃" im "Westnik Drevnej
Istorii", 1951, N 1, S.29, Anm.1: "Es handelt sich
offenbar um Ritus-handlungen bei Bauarbeiten". Es
geziemt auch zu vermerken, dass er im gegebenen
Text das Zeichen "ti" mit dem Wort "Pfeil" zusammen-
stellt. (Ibidem, S.29, Anm.3). S. dazu die Anmerkung
30.

30) Es ist notwendig zu vermerken, dass einer der Interpretatoren dieser Stelle des Textes der "Ovalen Platte" versucht hat, in dem Keilschriftzeichen "ti", das ohne Zweifel auf das Piktogramm eines Pfeiles zurückgeht, nicht die Bezeichnung eines Pfeiles zu sehen. Er sah vielmehr in ihm das Ideogramm, welches "Leben" bedeutete und auf das Piktogramm eines Blütenstempels zurückging. Dieses Piktogramm ist mit der Zeit mit dem oben genannten Piktogramm eines Pfeiles in dem Keilschriftzeichen verschmolzen, wie es A. Deimel im ŠL. 73, 1 wahrscheinlich gemacht hat. Durch die Verschmelzung dieser beiden Piktogramme im Zeichen "ti" entstand die Verbindung des Letzteren mit dem Ideogramm des "Lebens", das in der sumerischen Sprache dem Worte "til₃" entsprach. Eine derartige Lesung des Keilschriftzeichens "ti" schlug E. Sollberger (SV N 257 und 461) in seiner Interpretation der Fächer 29-30 der III. Kolumne der "Ovalen Platte" vor: "(29) inim dingir-re₂-ne-ka (30) til₃ da₅-be₂-da" "um Leben zu verleihen den Befehlen der Götter". Jedoch die Lesung "til₃" hat zur Folge, dass man das nächste Wort nicht "urudu-be₂-da", sondern "da₅-be₂-da" lesen muss und in ihm eine Form des Verbuns "dab₅" festzustellen hat. Nun findet sich eine derartige phone-

tische Schreibung des Verbuns "dab₅" weder in den historischen Texten Eannatums, Entemenas und Urukaginas, noch in den Wirtschaftstexten aus der Zeit Lugalandas und Urukaginas. Das Verbum "dab₅" wird in vorsargonischen Texten immer durch das Ideogramm "KU" geschrieben.

- 31) Meine Deutung des Textes der Fächer 28-30 wird auch durch die Interpretation der vorhergehenden Fächer bestätigt: (25) "Der Befrager, (26) der Beschauer (27) der Eingeweide des Opfertieres". Da hier 2 Kategorien der Wahrsagerpriester genannt werden, so ist im folgenden Text sehr naheliegend die Annahme eines dritten Wahrsagerpriesters, der den Willen der Götter mit Hilfe des göttlichen Pfeiles aus Kupfer feststellte. Die Verbindung des "nagar" "Zimmermanns", resp. "Tischlers", mit "urudu" "Kupfer" kann uns nicht verwundern, da eine der Kategorien der "nagar" mit "urudu" verbunden war: "nagar-urudu-mud" (RTC 22, 1, 1-2) "Tischler, Kupfer schaffender", d.h. ein Handwerker, der Werkzeuge und Waffen aus Holz und Kupfer verfertigte. Die Verbindung des "nagar" und "urudu" fand ihren Ausdruck auch in der ideographischen Schreibung einer der vorsündflutlichen Städte "bad-Tibira^{ki}", - "bad-URUDU NAGAR^{ki}". Zur Schreibung des Namens dieser Stadt s. Th. Jacobsen, The sumerian king list (Assyriological Studies N 11), Chicago, 1939, S. 72.

- 32) S. die sorgfältige Kopie der Inschrift der Geierstele, die E. Sollberger in seinem Corpus des inscriptions "royales" présargoniques de Lagas, Genève, 1956, gegeben hat.
- 33) Schon Thureau-Dangin hat in SAKI 12, 9, 1, Anm. g darauf hingewiesen, dass "ur-ur" dem akkadischen "šitnunu" "Schlacht" entspricht. Hier vermerkte er auch, dass dieses Wort sich ebenfalls in der Inschrift des Kegels Entemenas III, IO findet. Die Verbalform "e-da-lal" des Paches I der IX. Kolumne behandelte er in der Edition "Restitution matérielle de la Stèle des Vautours", Paris, 1909. Im S.L. 575a, I und 2 wird für das Ideogramm "ur-ur" die Lesung "urdahhu" vorgeschlagen, freilich mit einem Fragezeichen. Die Möglichkeit dieser Lesung lässt auch R. Jestin zu in seinem Werke "Le verbe sumerien," Paris, 1946, II, S. 138, Anm. 2. E. Sollberger im SV N 184 gab dem "giš ur-ur" die Lesung "gis urbigu" mit der Bedeutung "Waffe".
- 34) R. Jestin, Le verbe sumerien, II, S. 138 las das Keilschriftzeichen "ti" - "til₃" "lebender", musste aber zugeben, dass eine derartige Lesung des Zeichens "ti" für seine Interpretation des genannten Abschnittes der Geierstele Schwierigkeiten bereitet. Siehe l.o., S. 139, Anm. 1. Nichtsdestoweniger folgte E. Sollberger, SV N 123 der Interpretation des französischen Schumerologen. Th. Jacobsen, Z.A. 18 (52),

1957, S.133, Anm. 90, sieht im Zeichen "ti" das Wort für "Pfeil". Ebenso liest das Zeichen "ti" M.Lambert, R.Ass.50, S.206.

- 35) Auch R.Jestin, I.c. liest "til₃", dagegen Th.Jacobsen, I.c. liest "ti" "Pfeil".
- 36) So las Thureau-Dangin, SAKI und in der Edition des Jahres 1909. R.Jestin, I.c. und Th.Jacobsen, I.c. lesen "haš".
- 37) So las Thureau-Dangin in SAKI, sowie in der Edition des Jahres 1909. Seiner Lesung folgte Jacobsen I.c. und ich ebenfalls in dieser Arbeit.
- 38) Ich folge hier der Lesung Jacobsens, I.c. (s.Anm. 34).
- 39) Ich folge der Lesung, die Th.Jacobsen, I.c. vorschlug.
- 40) D.h. "Waffe". Wie schon vermerkt war, finden sich im Kegel Entemenas, III, 10 diese beiden Worte "giš" und "ur-ur", aber hier ist "ur-ur" verbunden mit einer passender Postposition - "še₃" "zu", d.h. "Holz zur Schlacht".
- 41) [✓]SL N 481, 34. Ich kann nicht verstehen, warum Sollberger, SV, S.98, Anm.5 so kategorisch behauptet, dass in dem parallelen Text (Kegel Entemenas, III, 10) eine passive Konstruktion der Verbalform erforderlich ist. Dieser Behauptung widerspricht die Tatsache, dass im vorhergehenden Texte vom

Einfall Urummas, des Herrschers von Umma, in das Gebiet von Lagasch berichtet wird. Deshalb bezieht sich das Infix "da" in der Verbalform "e-da-lal" auf den Herrscher von Umma-Urumma. Dagegen steht der Herrscher von Lagasch, Eannatum, im ergativen Kasus, und deshalb fanden Thureau-Dangin (in SAKI und in der Edition 1909), S.N.Kramer (Israel Exploration Journal, III, 1953, S.225) und M.Lambert (R.A.S.S.L., 1956, S.143) in dem Kegel Entemenas, III, IO gar nicht ein Zeugnis von der Tötung Eannatums, des Herrschers von Lagasch.

- 2) Th.Jacobsen (I.c.) übersetzt "gegen Eannatum", obgleich die Postposition "ra" gewöhnlich auf eine Handlung zum Wohle jemandes hinweist. Freilich haben wir in der Inschrift der Geierstele (XX, 1-5) ein Beispiel der Verwendung der Postposition "ra" zum Hinweise auf eine feindliche Handlung. In einem der Texte der III. Dynastie von Ur finden wir eine derartige Verwendung der Postposition "ra" in Verbindung mit dem Verbum "ra" "stossen", "schlagen". Sieh A.Deimel, Sumerische Grammatik^I, Rom, 1924, § 30, S.119. Nichtsdestoweniger ist wahrscheinlicher die Annahme, dass die Postposition "ra" nach dem Namen Eannatums, des Helden der Ereignisse der Inschrift der Geierstele, auf eine Handlung zu seinem Wohle hinweist.

- 43) D.h. den Ausgang der bevorstehenden Schlacht. Zur Bedeutung des Verbums "si" s. ŠL N 112, 50.
- 44) ŠL N 12a.
- 45) Offenbar entschloss sich der Feind nach dem für ihn ungünstig ausgefallenen Pfeilorakel den Widerstand aufzugeben.
- 46) Ich folge der Interpretation von Th. Jacobsen, I.c. (Siehe Anm. 34).
- 47) Ich habe schon in der Anm. 34 darauf hingewiesen, dass, ausser der Interpretation von Th. Jacobsen, wir noch die Interpretation von R. Jestin (Le verbe sumerien II, S. 138) und M. Lambert (R. Ass. L, 1956, S. 206) haben. Ich vermerkte schon dort, dass der erste der genannten Gelehrten selbst Zweifel über die von ihm vorgeschlagene Interpretation geäussert hat. Was die Interpretation von M. Lambert betrifft, so muss ich darauf hinweisen, dass sich in seiner Transkription dieses Abschnittes der Geierstele ein Fehler befindet. Er las hier nämlich nicht "ti-ta", wie es die Autographien Thureau-Dangin's und E. Sollbergers fordern, sondern "ti-bi" was natürlich den Sinn des Textes wesentlich ändert.
- 48) Er liess das Fach I in seiner mehrfach genannten Untersuchung in Z.A. 18 (52), 1957, S. 133, Anm. 90 ohne Übersetzung.

- 3) Siehe Ann.42.
- 2) Zu der Inschrift der Kegel Entemenas siehe die interessante Untersuchung von S.N.Kramer "Sumerian Historiography" in Israel Exploration Journal, III (1953), S.217 ff.
- 1) Schon Ed.Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums I⁵ (Stuttgart-Berlin 1926), § 388 hatte aus der genannten Stelle der Inschrift des Kegels Entemenas den Schluss gezogen, dass der von Eannatum begonnene Krieg sich auf seinen Sohn Entemena vererbte. Da der Kegel Entemenas nichts vom Verlauf dieses Krieges berichtete, kam M.Lambert in seiner Untersuchung "Une histoire du conflit entre Lagash et Umma" (R.Ass.L, 1956, S.143) zur Schlussfolgerung, dass Eannatum I im Kriege mit Umma eine Niederlage erlitt. Die schumerischen Herrscher verstanden offenbar ihre Niederlagen zu verschweigen, wie der assyrische König Salmanasar III in seinem Bericht von der Schlacht bei Karkar. Sieh Ed.Beyer, Geschichte des Altertums II, 2² (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1931), S.333.
- 2) Sieh Thureau-Dangin, SAKI, 12, XI, 14-15 und Sollberger, Corpus, S.II.
- 3) Die Übersetzung Th.Jacobsens von "dug₃-ga" "effektive" ist etwas ungewöhnlich.

- 54) Ich leugne nicht die Möglichkeit einer Verwundung Eannatums, jedoch ich bestehe darauf, dass ein derartiges Ereignis weder in den Abbildungen der Geierstele, noch im Text ihrer Inschrift vermerkt worden war.
- 55) In einer meiner nächsten Arbeiten werde ich versuchen, den historischen Hintergrund der Tötung des Königs von Kisch, die unten auf der Rückseite der Geierstele abgebildet ist, aufzuklären.
- 56) Wahrscheinlich konnte der Feind das Ergebnis des Pfeilorakels beobachten.
- 57) Thureau-Dangin übersetzte den Text, SAKI, 39 II, 9-IO (9): "in das Gefilde von Umma (IO) drang er nicht ein". E.Sollberger, S.V. N 274, S.N.Kramer, Israel Exploration Fund, III, 1953, S.225 und M.Lambert, R.Ass. L, 1956, S.142, schlugen im Wesentlichen dieselbe Übersetzung vor. Meine Lesung des Ideogramms "KU" als "tuš" gründet sich auf seiner Interpretation in DP 545, X, 4. Siehe W.W.Struve, Westnik Drevnej Istorii, 1957, N 4, S.17.
- 58) Gemäss dem lebenswürdigen Hinweis von I.D.Amussin, ist in den letzten Jahren das Buch Hesekiels als eine wertvolle historische Quelle anerkannt worden. Ich möchte hier noch darauf hinweisen, dass Br.Meissner, BA II, S.275 die Vermutung ausgesprochen hat, dass das "Schütteln der Pfeile" in der Prophezeiung

Hesekiels zusammenzustellen ist mit dem "Lose-
Werfen" (šalû ša pûri"), das in Assyrien bei der
Erbteilung und bei der Eponymenwahl angewandt wur-
de.

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XXV INTERNATIONALER ORIENTALISTEN-KONGRESS

VORTRÄGE DER DELEGATION DER UdSSR

A. S. LEKIASCHWILI

**ZUR BILDUNG
DES GEBROCHENEN PLURALS
IM ARABISCHEN**

**VERLAG FÜR ORIENTALISCHE LITERATUR
Moskau 1960**

In der gegenwärtigen Semitologie herrscht die Meinung, dass die in den südsemitischen Sprachen verbreiteten Formen des gebrochenen Plurals historisch Typen der ihrerseits von den Abstrakta (resp. den Infinitiven) stammenden Kollektiva sind. Dabei wird betont, dass die genannten Formen, die mit bestimmten Typen der Nomina im Singular eng verbunden sind, eine Tendenz an den Tag legen, sich von den letzteren durch innere Vokalisation oder Affixation zu unterscheiden (Sg. *qatl*, Pl. *qutūl*; *qatīl*—*qatla* u dgl.)¹

In den semitischen Sprachen sind die Typen von Infinitiven und Abstrakta vorhanden, welche ihrer Form nach mit den Typen des südsemitischen gebrochenen Plurals zumeist identisch sind; die ihnen in anderen semitischen Sprachen entsprechenden Stämme können in der Funktion von Kollektiva auftreten (z. B., *qutūl*, *qatalat* usw.)²

Dementsprechend unterscheiden einige Verfasser zwei Stufen in der Entwicklung des gebrochenen Plurals in den semitischen Sprachen — die gemeinsemitische und die südsemitische, die als sich aus der ersteren entwickelte aufgefasst wird³. Die allgemeine Behauptung über die Entwicklung der Pluralfunktion bei den Abstrakta ist leicht zu verstehen. Keinem Zweifel unterliegt auch das Vorhandensein eines Zusammenhanges zwischen dem Infinitiv und dem Abstraktum. Doch hier entsteht die Frage, ob die oben angeführte Thesen durch das System der semitischen Nomina bestätigt wird.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist vor allen Dingen die Tatsache beachtenswert, dass eine Reihe von Typen des gebrochenen Plurals keine ihnen entsprechenden Infinitive (resp. Abstrakta) besitzt, so, z. B., *qutūl*, *qitalat*, *qatāil*—*qatāilāt* (Plural der vierkonsonantigen Nomina), *'aqūl*, *'aqūl*, *'aqūlāt* u.ä.m.

Insbesondere sei zu bemerken, dass in einigen Fällen die Pluralformen nicht von den «primären» Infinitivarten stammen, sondern von den Stämmen, die diesen Infinitiv-

arten ähnlich, parallel sind (Komyensative usw., z. B. *qitalat*/[*qital*, *qatalat*]/*qatal*.)

Laut der oben angeführten Meinung, traten die gebrochenen Pluralformen in der frühen Entwicklung der semitischen Sprachen als Kollektiva auf. Doch das wird durch die Angaben der semitischen Sprachen nicht bestätigt. Die im Arabischen und Äthiopischen den gebrochenen Plural vertretenden Typen der Nomina treten in anderen semitischen Sprachen nur selten als Kollektiva auf. Das ist einerseits. Andererseits ist kennzeichnend, dass die gemeinsemitischen Kollektiva keine Pluralfunktion erhielten⁴.

Die Hauptsache besteht darin, dass trotz der sich in der Verteilung der für uns wichtigen Formen zeigenden Unbeständigkeit (einem Pluraltyp entsprechen mehrere Singular Typen und umgekehrt)⁵ eine bestimmte Distribution für das System des gebrochenen Plurals typisch ist, auf die aber der von uns behandelte Fall keine Rücksicht nimmt. Dazu wäre zuzufügen, dass dieser Fall nicht imstande ist, die Ursache des Vorhandenseins von verschiedenen Arten der Unterscheidung von Plural- und Singularstämmen nach der Vokalisation und Affixation zu erklären.

J. Barth, der grosse Verdienste um die Erforschung der semitischen Nominalbildungen im allgemeinen und der uns interessierenden Frage insbesondere hat, machte den Versuch, für die oben erwähnte Erscheinung eine Erklärung zu finden. Nach seiner Meinung, sind bei der Verteilung der Pluraltypen der transitive und intransitive Charakter der Verben bestimmend, in denen diese Nominalbildungen ihren Anfang zu nehmen scheinen; so, z. B., im Zusammenhang mit der Pluralform *qital* stellt er fest, dass für die entsprechenden Singular Typen der intransitive Charakter gemeinsam ist. Doch Barth liess dabei unberücksichtigt, dass mit dem genannten Stamm nicht alle ihrem Ursprung nach «intransitiven» Nomina in der Rolle eines Singulars auftreten. Wenn für das Pluralsystem das von Barth erwähnte Moment am wichtigsten wäre, so würde es keine so grosse Mannigfaltigkeit der Arten des gebrochenen Plurals geben, sondern nur zwei Formen.

Also findet die Meinung, dass die gebrochenen Pluralformen von den Abstrakta (resp. Infinitiven) stammen, nicht immer die nötige Bestätigung durch Fakten.

Da dem ganzen System des gebrochenen Plurals ein bestimmter Zusammenhang zwischen sämtlichen Typen des

Singulars und Plurals eigen ist, so ist dieser Zusammenhang bei der Entwicklung der uns interessierenden Formen als der hauptsächlichste zu betrachten.

Jede Form des gebrochenen Plurals soll folglich im Zusammenhang mit den entsprechenden Typen des Singulars betrachtet werden.

Unser Vortrag verfolgt das Ziel, den Entstehungsprozess des gebrochenen Plurals im allgemeinen zu charakterisieren. Wir beschränken uns auf die verbreitetsten Typen und lassen die Einzelheiten ausser Acht.

* * *

Qital ('*aqtāl*). Im Singular entsprechen einander hauptsächlich die wechselnden Stämme: *qatil—qatil*, *qatal—qatl*, *qatil—qitl*, *qatul—qutl*, *qatil—qatul*, *qitl—qatil*⁷. Einen funktionellen Zusammenhang zeigen ausserdem folgende Stämme: *qatil—qatil*, *qatil—qātil*, *qatl—qatlān*, *qutlān* usw.⁸. Die den Plural der genannten Typen ausdrückende Form *qitāl* befindet sich in einem engen Zusammenhang mit den Stämmen *qatāl*, *qutāl*⁹, die die Nebenbildungen zu dem obengenannten Singulartyp *qati*¹⁰ sind (Der Stamm *qatil* wechselt oft mit dem Stamm *qatāl*)¹¹. Man kann folglich den Plural *qitāl* und den Singular *qatil* als Nebentypen betrachten. Wie es aus den obenangeführten Gegenüberstellungen hervorgeht, ist *qatil* seinerseits mit anderen Singularstämmen verbunden.

Es ist zu betonen, dass mit der Form *qitāl* nicht die ihr nahen Nebenbildungen (*qatāl* und *qutāl*) verbunden sind, sondern die ferneren (*qātil*, *qātil*, *qalān* u.a.).

Quttal—quttāl. Diese beiden Formen bezeichnen den Plural des Patrizips von dem Typ *qātil*, doch werden gleichzeitig in der Funktion des Singulars gebraucht¹². Diese Formen sind, nach Barth's Meinung, Intensive von *qatal—qutāl*¹³. *Quttal—quttāl* können nicht als Urformen des Plurals betrachtet werden. Beachtenswert ist, dass ihre «Primärstämme» *qatal—qutāl*¹⁴ die Nebenbildungen *qatal—qatāl* und eine Variante mit der Verdoppelung vom zweiten Konsonant (*qattāl*) haben. Der Zusammenhang zwischen *qatal//qatāl* und *qutal//qutāl* ist wohlbekannt. Es wäre folgerichtig, auch ihre geminierten Varianten miteinander zu verbinden, wobei wir verwandte Stammgruppen

erhalten würden — mit dem Vokal *a* einerseits und mit dem Vokal *u* in der ersten Silbe andererseits (*qatal—qātāl*, *qatal—qattāl*, *qatal—qutāl*, *quttāl—quttāl*). Die Nebenformen dieser Stämme mit verdoppeltem Konsonant treten in bestimmten Fällen in der Rolle des Plurals für den Singular *qātil*, auf, wobei sie wiederum mit den Bildungen *qatal//qutāl* (die als Ausgangspunkt dieser Pluralformen dienten) verbunden werden.

Qitlat. Im Singular am häufigsten *qatil* und der mit ihm verbundene Typ *qutāl*¹⁶. Es ist anzunehmen, dass der Typ *qitlat* von *qatilat* stammt, dem Kompensativ von *qatil*: *qatil//qatilat* > *qitlat*. Eine Stammentwicklung solcher Art ist aus der Geschichte der semitischen Sprachen wohl bekannt¹⁷. Folglich wird *qitlat* — eine Variante des Singulartyps *qatil* — als dessen Pluralform gebraucht.

Qitlān. Es steht in engem Zusammenhang mit dem zuletzt erwähnten Pluraltyp. (Barth hat darauf hingewiesen, dass die Formen '*aqtilat*', '*aqtilā*' und *qitlān* Nebenbildungen sind)¹⁸. Die Typen *qitlat*, '*aqtilat*' und *qitlān* sind anscheinend Varianten von *qatil* (*qatil//qatilat* > *qitlat//aqtilat*; *qatil//qatilān* > *qitlān*), wodurch auch der Umstand zu erklären ist, dass als deren Singular hauptsächlich *qatil* und seine Nebenbildungen (*qatāl*, *qutāl*) gebraucht werden.

Einen ähnlichen Ursprung müsste auch der Typ *qutlān* haben. Da diese Form in der Pluralfunktion oft in eine Alternation mit der Form *qutul* tritt¹⁹, ist sie als Kompensativ der letzteren zu betrachten (*qutul—qutlān*).

Qatalat. Nach Barth's Meinung, ist es der Kompensativ des Infinitivs *qatāl*²⁰. Da *qatalat* in einem engen Zusammenhang mit den Partizipialtyp *qatāl* steht, als auch mit dessen Nebenbildungen²¹, muss *qatalat* als dessen Kompensativ betrachtet werden.

Qutalā'. Ein Kompensativ von *qutāl*, drückt deshalb manchmal die Pluralbedeutung von *qutāl* aus (Sg. *qutāl*, Pl. *qutalā'*)²². Häufiger wird damit die Nebenbildung des genannten Stammes *qatil* als eine Singularform verbunden. Mit verdoppelten und «schwachen» Stämmen wird *qutalā'* durch den Typ '*aqtilā*' ersetzt²³. Vielleicht, als Folge ihrer Verwandtschaft: *qutalā'* > '*aqtilā*'.

Qatlā. Tritt in der Funktion des Femininums als auch in der des Plurals für den Singular *qatlān* auf²⁴. Das ist, nach Barth's Meinung, durch den substantivischen Charak-

ter der genannten Form bedingt²⁵. Vielleicht haben wir es hier mit der Identität der Ausdrucksweisen für Geschlecht und Zahl zu tun, die im Arabischen und Äthiopischen vorhanden ist²⁶. In diesen Sprachen wird der Unterschied zwischen Geschlecht und Zahl manchmal durch die Gegenüberstellung von Nebestämmen zum Ausdruck gebracht (Mask. *qatil*, Fem. *qatal*; Sg. *qatil*, Pl. *qital*)

Qutul—qutūl. Diese Bildungen sind besonders interessant vom Standpunkt der gegenseitigen Verhältnisse zwischen den Plural- und Singularformen aus. Durch die entsprechenden Singulartypen der Form *qutul* sind hauptsächlich die Stämme vertreten, die mit anderer Pluralform—*qutūl*—eng verbunden sind, und umgekehrt: als Singular von *qutūl* treten Nebenbildungen von dem Stamm *qutul* auf (Pl. *qutul*, Sg. *qatūl*; *qatil—qital*; Pl. *qutūl*, Sg. *qatl*, *qittl*, *qutl*, *qatil*). Der Stamm *qutl*, mit dem die Formen *qatl*, *qittl*, *qatil* verbunden werden können, ist eine Nebenbildung von dem Pluraltyp *qutūl*²⁸. Was aber die Form *qatūl* betrifft, so wird sie mit dem Pluraltyp *qutūl* verbunden²⁹ (*qatil/qital* zeigen einen funktionellen Zusammenhang mit dem Stamm *qatūl*).

Die Pluraltypen *qutūl* und *qutūl* sind wiederum als Nebenformen zu betrachten³⁰.

Qatātil—qatātilat. Barth hält sie für eine Nebenbildung des Adjektivstammes *qutātil*³¹. Im Grunde genommen, teilen wir diese Meinung und fügen noch hinzu, dass man den Typ *qatātil* (*qatātilat*) mit den verdoppelten Stämmen (*qalqal*) verbinden kann, falls man die Entwicklungsgeschichte der vierkonsonantigen Stämme in Betracht zieht. Besonders beachtenswert ist in diesem Fall folgende Bemerkung von Brockelmann: der Pluraltyp der vierkonsonantigen Nomina scheint den onomatopoetischen Wörtern nahe zu stehen. (Die meisten onomatopoetischen Wörter werden ja durch die Verdoppelung des zweikonsonantigen Elements gebildet³²).

Zwischen den Typen des gebrochenen Plurals und den entsprechenden Gruppen der Nomina im Singular bilden sich besondere Verhältnisse heraus, die überhaupt für das System der semitischen Nominalbildungen typisch sind (Vokalwechsel, Gegenüberstellung der abgeleiteten und einfachen Stämme). Deshalb kann man voraussetzen, dass für die nominalen Gruppen in der Pluralform ein mit ihnen organisch verbundener Stamm auftritt³³. Es ist anzuneh-

men, dass der Wechsel der Vokale als auch der Affixe in den Nebstämmen die Divergenz zwischen den Stämmen des Singulars und des gebrochenen Plurals verursacht hat.

Es ist ganz natürlich, dass als Singulartypen hauptsächlich die Nebenbildungen auftreten, die sich von den Pluralformen bedeutend unterscheiden.

Da ein Teil der Adjektiv- und Substantivtypen den Plural auszudrücken begann, verengte sich in bedeutendem Masse sein Verwendungskreis im Singular. Hauptsächlich haben die Infinitive und die Abstrakta die Nebenbildungen erhalten.

Das Vorhandensein verschiedener Nebenbildungen von ein- und demselben Nomen bedingte die Existenz von mehreren Formen eines Stammes, und umgekehrt. Die Verwendung verschiedener Singulartypen bei einer Pluralform ist dadurch hervorgerufen worden, dass diese Typen ihrem Ursprung nach Nebenbildungen sind.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist eine ähnliche Erscheinung beachtenswert, die bei der Bezeichnung des grammatischen Geschlechts auftritt. Wie bekannt, wird das Geschlecht in den südsemitischen Sprachen in einigen Fällen durch die Gegenüberstellung von Stämmen ausgedrückt (*qatīl* Mask., *qatāl* Fem.)³⁴.

In der Verbreitung von Formen des gebrochenen Plurals ist die folgende Korrelation zu beobachten: die Typen des gebrochenen Plurals als auch die der Nebstämmen sind zumeist in den südsemitischen Sprachen verbreitet, besonders im Arabischen. In den dem Arabischen verwandten Sprachen sind die Fälle der Anwendung von Nebstämmen sehr beschränkt.

Somit ruft die Meinung über zwei Stufen in der Entwicklungsgeschichte des gebrochenen Plurals Einwände hervor³⁵. Was die dem Arabischen und Äthiopischen verwandten Sprachen anbetrifft, so kann hier erst nur von den Ansätzen zur Entwicklung des gebrochenen Plurals die Rede sein.

Es ist anzunehmen, dass die als Pluralformen dienenden Nomina sich an die Kollektiva und Abstrakta angeschlossen hatten, wodurch sie die für sie charakteristischen syntaktischen Funktionen erhielten.

³⁴ J. Barth, Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen, Leipzig, 1894, SS. 417—18; S. Moscati, Plurali interni in ugaritico?

Rivista degli studi orientali, t. 32, p. 339; H. Fleisch, L'Arabe classique, Beyrouth, 1956, p. 33; J. Kurylowicz, Esquisse d'une théorie de l'apophonie en sémitique, — BSLP, 53, fasc. I, pp. 33—38.

² J. Barth, a. a. O., SS. 420—21.

³ J. Barth, a. a. O., S. 419; L. Matous, Zum sog. inneren Plural im Arabischen, — «Archiv Orientalni», XXIV (4), S. 629.

⁴ H. Fleisch, a. a. O., p. 34; J. Barth, S. 432.

⁵ J. Barth, a. a. O., S. 418.

⁶ J. Barth, a. a. O., S. 472.

⁷ J. Barth, a. a. O., SS. 13, 28, 42, 115, 183; C. Brockelmann, Grundriss, I, SS. 337, 340, 354.

⁸ J. Barth, a. a. O., SS. 165, 182, 200, 338—339.

⁹ Ebda, SS. 40—41, 60—61; Grundriss, I, S. 350.

¹⁰ J. Barth, a. a. O., S. 192—193; insbesondere S. 473, Anm. I; Grundriss, I, S. 344.

¹¹ J. Barth, a. a. O. S. 192—193.

¹² J. Barth, a. a. O., SS. 23, 198.

¹³ J. Barth, a. a. O., S. 437.

¹⁴ Ebda, SS. 23, 40.

¹⁵ Ebda, SS. 11, 40.

¹⁶ Siehe oben; vgl. J. Barth, a. a. O., S. 447.

¹⁷ Ebda, SS. 92, 115, 119.

¹⁸ Ebda, S. 449—50.

¹⁹ Ebda, S. 459.

²⁰ Ebda, S. 443.

²¹ Vgl. ebenda.

²² J. Barth, a. a. O., S. 478.

²³ J. Barth, a. a. O., S. 449.

²⁴ Quatla drückt den Plural der Form *qatlan* verwandten Stämme aus (*qatil*, **aqtal*, *qatil*).

²⁵ J. Barth, a. a. O., S. 471.

²⁶ Th. Nöldeke, Zur Bildung des Plurals beim aramäischen Nomen, — «Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft», Strassburg, 1904, S. 53.

²⁷ J. Barth, a. a. O., S. 473, Anm. I, Grundriss, I, S. 344.

²⁸ J. Barth, a. a. O., S. 170.

²⁹ Ebda, S. 174.

³⁰ J. Barth, S. 461.

³¹ Ebda, S. 480.

³² Grundriss, I, S. 434, Anm.

³³ Dabei ist die Möglichkeit nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die Formen des gebrochenen Plurals in einigen Fällen aus den Kollektiva entstanden sind.

³⁴ Nöldeke, a. a. O., S. 58, Anm. 4; Grundriss, I, S. 344.

³⁵ S. Moscati, op. cit.

Тип. Изд. вост. лит. Москва. Б. Кисельный пер., 4.

XXV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS
PAPERS PRESENTED BY THE U.S.S.R. DELEGATION

M. I. YULDASHEV

**DECIPHERING OF THE DAFTAR NO 34 FROM
THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE KHANS
OF KHIVA**

*(ON AGRARIAN RELATIONS IN THE XIX CENTURY
KHIVA)*

ORIENTAL LITERATURE PUBLISHING HOUSE
Moscow 1960

Among other reports delivered by the members of the Soviet delegation at the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists in 1954 was our paper on a collection of public records of the XIX century feudal Khiva ¹.

At that time we could make known but some preliminary results of the work of Soviet orientalists investigating these records. Now we are enabled to give a more detailed review of these records with regard to separate problems, which is object of the present report.

Soviet orientalists performed an extensive work of studying and deciphering these unique documents of the Khans of Khiva ².

The development of historical knowledge had been considerably hindered by the fact that until quite recently historians stood in want of authentic documents, which could throw light upon internal life of various states of Central Asia. For a long time orientalists were no success in penetrating into numerous «secrets» of administrative and social structure of the Khiva Khanate.

The first to widen the scope of the research was a Soviet historian, late P. P. Ivanov, who was fortunate in 1936 to find in the manuscript section of M. E. Saltikov-Shchedrin Public library in Leningrad public records belonging to Khans of the XIX century Khiva previously never studied by historians. These records had been brought to Petersburg soon after the expedition of Russian troops to Khiva in 1873. Thus Soviet scientists have obtained a most valuable original document that gives a clue to correct understanding of the history of Khiva and other Khanates of Central Asia.

Late academician I. Y. Krachkovsky highly valued the records discovered by P. P. Ivanov, who had published the contents of some of the archives' daftars. Thus P. P. Ivanov introduced fresh material, that shed some light on the highly obscure problem of the nature of social and economic relations in the XIX century Khiva.

The collection preserved at the Public Library later turned out to be but part of these unique records. A large amount of documents were discovered in the collections of the former Asiatic Museum (at present, the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.). In 1948 we found there a great number of previously unknown daftars from the archives of Khiva, which have formed complement to P. P. Ivanov's find and enhanced its value.

The records found amount altogether to more than 11,000 leaves. P. P. Ivanov, at whose disposal was only a part of the documents could not make an absolutely correct surmise as to the contents of the archives as a whole, though he made a valuable contribution to scientific elaboration of the history of Central Asia, giving a general description of the part known to him and classifying the documents.

The discovery of previously unknown daftars from the chancery of the Khans of Khiva enables us to widen considerably the scope of the research started by P. P. Ivanov. In particular, the problem of land tax as the main means of exploitation of the people and of replenishment of the Khan's treasury can be discerned with a greater clarity; the outlines become more definite of the process of growth of large feudal landownership and formation in XIX century of a new system of centralized state administration conforming to the needs of economic development of Khiva and brought forth by aggravation of class struggle inside the Khanate in that period. This system protected the interests of big landowners, who were fighting against separatist tendency of the old nomadic tribal aristocracy and kept under their yoke the majority of the population, deprived of all political rights. This kind of a regime — a state ruled by a despotic Khan — was established and fortified in Khiva under Muhammad Rahim-khan, and his successors.

The administrative structure of the Khanate was based on a firmly organized system of governmental institutions. The most efficient and operative was the revenue department which at the same time fulfilled the function of the department of public works. It was supervised by three officials: *mihtar*, *qushbegi*, and *divan-begi*. The tax-collecting organs that acted severely and ruthlessly were extensively developed and occupied a leading position in the system of government administration.

Beside central administration, there developed in Khiva at the beginning of the XIX century a local administration.

based on the principles of territorial division into vilayats, and mosques, or parishes. The records allow to compile personal lists of officials not only in central administration but also in vilayats. Besides, the records provide material for making a precise map of administrative and territorial division of the country. A proof of this can be found in the daftar No 34 of the archives of the Khans of Khiva, which contains information on collection of land revenue within the whole territory of the Khanate. It enumerates vilayats and mosques, which represented local administrative units³. The deciphering of the daftar had been hampered by the fact that addition of figures standing in the second, third and fourth columns gave a different sum, than the total sum marked in the fifth column.

For instance:

Mosque	Grade			Total
	High (Q'la)	Middle (awsat)	Low (adna)	
Mosque of Abd ar-Rahman Qara	nought	1	5	7
Mosque of Niyaz Davurdi Mutavalli	1	1	5	10 ⁴

Apparently, this prevented the discoverer of the daftar, P. P. Ivanov, from perceiving its contents. Proceeding with the investigation started by the late P. P. Ivanov we have managed to discover the principle of calculation applied by the officials who kept the daftar, so that the whole of it can now be deciphered and studied. We have established that the second, third and fourth columns indicate not the amount of the tax, but the number of farms belonging to the corresponding grade of tax-payers. The last column gives the sum total of the revenue in monetary expression. Entries in the daftar are arranged in the following manner: in the first column the name of the mosque is given. Further columns show the number of farms and the amount of revenue to be collected. The second column indicates the number of farms belonging to a'la grade and paying 3 *tilla* each. The fourth column shows farms of *adna* grade taxed 1 *tilla* each. The last column gives the total sum of tax collected from all the parishioners of the mosque in question.

So we can easily establish that in the above-mentioned case the mosque of Abd ar-Rahman Qara had no farms of *a'la* grade (i. e. possessing over 10 tanabs of land). There was one farm of *awsat* grade (possessing up to 10 tanabs of land), which was to pay a tax of 2 tilla. Small farms of *adna* grade were predominant (up to 5 tanabs). They were five in number and were taxed 1 tilla each. Thus the *awsat* farm paid 2 tilla and all the *adna* ones together paid 5 tilla, which makes the total indicated in the daftar—7 tilla. In the mosque of Niyaz Davurdi Mutavalli there were 7 farms, among them one of *a'la* grade.

There are also lists of districts and mosques in them and the sum total of the tax collected from the share-croppers. Records in the above-mentioned daftar show that share-croppers were taxed not according to grades as landowners but in exact proportion to the area of the rented land, which is reflected in the daftar. Entries where no division into grades is given refer, accordingly, to tenants or share-croppers, and only the amount of tax they were to pay is indicated.

Daftar No 34 is a valuable source of historical material; it shows the social structure and grades of taxpayers for each mosque as well as for provinces and for the whole Khanate. We can learn from it the number of big, middle and small landowners. This daftar gives us for the first time a clear picture of administrative structure of the Khanate in the XIX century, and makes it certain that the divisions at that period were not based on tribal distinctions, being purely territorial. The entries in the daftar show besides the amount of tax also the distribution of land among different grades of farmers by mosques, vilayats, and even by agricultural regions within the whole Khanate. According to figures of daftar No. 34, the number of mosques in Khiva was 1183, that of tax-payers 37,603. The total number of the landowners was 16,400; 3,146 of them had farms which belonged to *a'la* grade; 3,934 owned from 5—to 10 tanabs of land, and 9,320 had less than 5 tanabs. Farms of the middle grade with 5 or 6 tanabs of land were as miserable as the 9,320 farms with less than 5 tanabs. Consequently, only 3,146 (or 17%) of the 16,400 *mulkdars* (landowners) had enough land, while 13,254 holdings (or 83%) were too small. 21,203 households owned no land at all and belonged to share-croppers. According to daftar No. 34, the total sum of the *salghut* land revenue, for 1276 A. H. (1859—60) must have been 47,828

tilla of which 9,438 *tilla* were to be payed by *a'la* grade farms, 7,868 *tilla* by *awsat*, and 9,320 *tilla* by *adna* grade farms. Share—croppers had to pay 21,202 *tilla*. This figure, to judge by accuracy with which the accounts were kept, is perfectly exact, and thus shows the aggregate of income from the main source of Khiva revenue in the middle of the XIX century. To appreciate in full the great importance of the described daftar for a historian it is necessary to examine the distribution of land properties among tax-payers — *mulkdars*.

Summing up the figures given in daftar No C-699, dating from 1259 A. H. (1843), it can be seen that:

1. The number of *adna* grade farms was 8,404. The average plot for this grade of farms contained 2.5 *tanabs* so that in the aggregate this grade possessed 21,000 *tanabs* of land ($8,404 \times 2.5 = 21,010$).

2. There were 5,716 *awsat* farms. The average plot for this grade is 7.5 *tanabs*, and total land owned about 43 thousand *tanabs* (42,860).

3. The grades *adna* and *awsat* together owned 64 thousand *tanabs*, while the total landed property of mulkdars-taxpayers, according to the records, amounted to 129—142 thousand *tanabs*, so the remaining 65—78 thousand *tanabs* belonged to 3,634 *a'la* grade farms (each possessing on an average 19—20 *tanabs*.)

About the same amount of land was in the possession of the *naukars* of the khan's army. It is proved first by a *naukars'* roll with the size of the plot rented against the name of each *naukar*, secondly by statistical data showing that with respect to landed property 1,487 of 2,103 *naukars* belonged to the *bala* grade, 425 to *awsat*, and 191—to *adna*.

The proportion between small and large landed properties as well as the distribution of all the cultivated lands of the Khanate can be ascertained from the daftars. As a list of church institutions (with size of their landed properties) shows they obtained the greater part of their lands in the XIX century, especially after 1840. *Vaqf* land of the Khiva Khanate during the second half of the XI century covered about 165—170 thousand *tanabs*.

The fund of cultivated crown lands in the fifties can be estimated according to our reckoning at about 85 thousand *tanabs*. This calculation is based on the entries of daftar No. 34 that deal with the number of tenants on crown-lands.

Tenants on private, *vaqf* and crown lands payed monetary tax of 1 *tilla* for 5 *tanabs*, and their rent totalled 17,032 *tilla*; hence the crown lands rented by them could not surpass 86 thousand *tanabs*.

Thus, an approximate estimation of land distribution in the Khiva Khanate in the middle of the XIX century is as follows:

1. the actual producers, that is *adna* and *awsat* grade farmers owned 64 thousand *tanabs*.
2. *a'la* landowners possessed about 70 thousand *tanabs*,
3. crown and *vaqf* lands numbered about 256 thousand *tanabs*.

Total lands mentioned above amounted to 384 thousand *tanabs*. It would be interesting to compare these figures with those already published.

According to the data given by G. I. Danilevsky in the 40s (that is exactly during the period we examine) ⁷ cultivated land on the left bank of the Oxus covered 1,866,666 *tanabs*. These figures have never been questioned and, on the whole, there is no reason to doubt them, although they cannot be regarded as absolutely infallible. Moreover, there may be even tens of thousands *tanabs* more or less, but the important thing is that this wouldn't change the general outline: the farmer's land of *adna*, *awsat* and *a'la* grades in the 1,866,666 *tanabs* of the whole cultivated land comprised but 134 thousand *tanabs* (64+70), the land of lower officials of bureaucratic feudal administration and of *naukars* reached about 260 thousand *tanabs*, the crown and *vaqf* lands amounted to 256 thousand *tanabs*, and finally, the share of big feudal landlords was about 1,216,666 *tanabs*.

Danilevsky accompanied his information on the amount of cultivated lands and gardens with the following remarks: «A considerable part of cultivated lands belongs to the Khan, his relatives; his *grandeës* (many of whom possess from 2 to 3 thousand *tanabs*), to other officials, the priesthood, *mad-rāsas*, and to tradespeople. But taking into account the fact that they hold in their exclusive possession the whole cultivated area on the right bank of the Oxus (italicized by us — M. I.), between the Shara-Khan and the Itizār-Khan canals, we can assume that of the above-mentioned area of cultivated lands (1,866,666 *tanabs* on the left side.—M. I.) a million *tanabs* belong to the common people» ⁸. This view on the ownership «by the common people» of 1,000,000 *ta-*

nabs, or more than a half of the whole cultivated land of Khiva have been uncritically accepted by posterior historians, and are expressed in literature even now. Is this conclusion right? Danilevsky's supposition is based, as a matter of fact, on the following: since on the right bank of the Oxus all lands were in exclusive possession of the Khan and his own people, the opposite proportion must have been on the left bank, i. e. landlords must have had the smaller part of land and farmers the greater one. Such a situation would have been probable if there had existed two Khiva Khanates; but as there was a single Khanate different conclusion seems much more probable and justified, that feudal lords having taken hold of the lands on the right bank of the river were naturally striving to do the same on the left one. Therefore, if we add the figures for the right bank of the Oxus to the 1,886,666 *tanabs*, the proportion of land owned by peasants and by big landlords will be further changed in favour of the latter, which will corroborate our conclusion about the common people of Khiva possessing less than 1/10 of the land, and by no means «more than a half».

Thus, the stated distribution of land among different grades of landowners provides also grounds for rejecting the concept that there existed a large fund of crown lands in Khiva, and for defining their amount as quite insignificant. Statistics of the public records of the Khans of Khiva show that the bulk of land belonged to big feudal landlords who held in their hands 9/10 of all cultivated land. This is of great importance for understanding the real nature and essence of social and economic structure of Khiva in the middle of the XIX century.

¹ М. Ю. Юлдашев, Государственный архив феодальной Хивы XIX в., — «Доклады советской делегации на XXIII Международном конгрессе востоковедов», Секция Ирана, Армении и Средней Азии, АН СССР, М., 1954, стр. 209—230.

² See works by П. П. Иванов, Новые материалы по истории Средней Азии (по поводу открытия архива хивинских ханов), — «Историк-марксист», М., 1937, № 3, стр. 220—222; Архив хивинских ханов, Новые источники для истории Средней Азии XIX в., — «Записки Института востоковедения АН СССР», вып. VII, М.—Л., 1939, стр. 5—26; Архив хивинских ханов XIX века. Исследование и описание документов с историческим введением. Новые источники для истории народов Средней Азии XIX века, Л., 1940; See also by М. Ю. Юлдашев, Новые архивные источники по истории Средней Азии, — «Краткие сообщения Института востоковедения Академии

наук СССР», № 1, Л., 1951, стр. 35—41; М. И. Фулдошев, Узбек халки тарихининг киммат Тахо ёдгорлиги, — «Известия Академии наук УзССР», Ташкент, 1957, № 1, стр. 27—32; М. Ю. Юлдашев, К вопросу о характере поземельного налога в Хиве в XIX в., — «Известия Академии наук УзССР», Серия общественных наук, Ташкент, 1957, № 2, стр. 19—24; К вопросу об особенностях развития феодального землевладения в Хиве XIX в., — «Первая Всесоюзная конференция востоковедов 4—11 июня 1957», Ташкент, Издательство Академии наук УзССР, 1958, стр. 621—627; Некоторые выводы из анализа документов государственного архива хивинских ханов XIX в., — «Известия Академии наук УзССР», Серия общественных наук, Ташкент, 1958, № 1, стр. 5—11; Некоторые данные о закабалении и продаже человека в период позднего феодализма, — «Известия Академии наук УзССР», Серия общественных наук, Ташкент, 1958, № 5, стр. 33—39; Феодальное землевладение в Хиве XIX в. до присоединения ханства к России, — «Известия Академии наук УзССР», Серия общественных наук, Ташкент, 1959, № 3, стр. 33—47; Землевладение и государственное устройство Хивы XIX в., Ташкент, 1959, стр. 660.

³ Daftar No 34 in dark-green binding with red back contains 79 leaves of thick paper larger than in 1/2 folio. In reading the daftar one should bear in mind that figures are usually in columns, but at some places the text is written in line. The daftar gives total figures for mosques. It is compiled on the base of name rolls of all landowners both mulkdars and share-croppers.

⁴ All 1183 mosques are enumerated in the same manner.

⁵ А. Балтаев, Материалы к истории Хорезма, — «Manuscript of the Institute of Orientalology of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbeq S.S.R.», No 9320, ff. 79, 85 — According to Baltayev on the eve of the October Revolution the vaqf lands totalled already 281 thousand tanabs.

⁶ Ff. 20a, 21a, 30b, 46a, 46b, 47a, 47b, 48a, 48b, 49a, 50a, 53b, 56b, 59b, 60a, 65b, 69b, 70a, 70b, 72b, 73b.

⁷ Г. И. Данилевский, Описание Хивинского ханства, — «Записки русского географического общества», кн. 5, 1851 г., стр. 123.

⁸ Ibid.

XXV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

PAPERS PRESENTED BY THE USSR DELEGATION

Y. N. MAZUR, F. V. MALKOV, L. B. NIKOLSKY

**WORD FORMS
AND WORD-COMBINATION FORMS
IN THE MODERN KOREAN LANGUAGE**

ORIENTAL LITERATURE PUBLISHING HOUSE
Moscow 1960

Problems of word forms and word-combination forms in the Korean language have not been studied sufficiently and are given highly diverse interpretations. Suffice it to say that, for example, linguistic units that go to make up word and word-combination forms are regarded as affixes by some and as form-words that are included in the list of parts of speech, by others.

In this paper an attempt is made to consider the principal problems associated with word and word-combination forms in the Korean language. Here, we confine ourselves to a statement of the problem.

x x

x

In the Korean language, word forms differ in different groups of parts of speech, which is one of the basic criteria for their differentiation. When differentiating parts of speech peculiar to modern Korean, account is taken of the semantic, morphological and syntactic characteristics of the word. The basic criterion for word classification is the semantico-functional criterion. In contrast to other principles, it embraces the entire vocabulary and reflects the process of development of the language, in which some words were initially the bearers of the nominative function, but were later trans-

formed into auxiliary words. The word is thus considered in its relation to other words, i.e., in sentence structure.

According to the semantico-functional characteristic, words are divided into the following two classes: full-meaning and auxiliary.

The morphological criterion presupposes an allowance made for peculiarities of word-changing, form-building, and word-building.

On the question of word-changing and form-building in the Korean language, there are two opinions in the literature. Some linguists consider that relations between words are effected by means of *t'o* (agglutinative particle), which do not enter into the composition of the word and are affixed to it to effect various relationships between words; in this case, the words proper - the bearers of the lexical meaning - remain unchanged. Other linguists consider that the words are related by means of morphemes, which serve as a means of word-changing and form-building.

We recognize word-changing and form-building by means of morphemes. Morphemes are capable of detaching themselves from the lexeme when another morpheme is interposed between the lexeme and morpheme, but they do not thereby cease to be morphemes. This mobility of morphemes is due to the fact that each morpheme in the composition of a given word has a single grammatical meaning.

Full-meaning words are divided into variables and **nonvariables**. The morphological feature is applicable only to the classification of variable words, which in the Korean language fall into two morphological classes: substantives and **predicatives**. Unlike predicatives, substantives are characterized by having declensions.

With respect to conjugation in the Korean language, two view points are expressed: some linguists regard the conjugation as being peculiar only to predicatives, while others include substantives as well. Our approach is to recognize that conjugation is peculiar only to predicatives. The apparent conjugation of a substantive is nothing other than the conjugation of a link: since the link has lost its root following a vowel stem, some morphemes of the link are affixed directly to the substantive. In this case there is some ground for speaking of conjugation of a substantive; however, this assumption may be disproved by the following facts: 1) in the sentence: kŭgŏsi so=yŏtta 'this was a cow', so 'cow' is related to the link ida; therefore, in place of the expected soatta we have so=yŏtta (Cf. from poida 'to show oneself' there is formed poyŏtta 'was shown'; 2) in the word so=myŏn 'if this is a cow', the root of the link has disappeared, but it makes an appearance in the plural sodŭr=imyŏn 'if these are cows'; 3) frequently, the root of the link does not disappear after a vowel.

The morphological classification is not exhausted by division of variable words into substantives and predicatives, for both declinable and conjugable words are further divided into small categories that are differentiated morphologically. The community of morphological properties of variable words coincides, in the main, with the community of lexical meanings.

As in other languages, a word in the Korean language is a unity of lexical and grammatical forms. The lexical forms of a word (as the components of its semantic structure) are represented by its regular polysemy. Thus, for example, the "Abridged Dictionary of the Korean Language" gives four different but interrelated meanings for the noun *mŏri*: 1) head; 2) hair; 3) quickness of wit; 4) top, summit. Also, various phono-morphological variants of one and the same word (the majority of them may be called stylistic forms of the word) belong to lexical forms. Such variants are: *paem* and *paeam* 'snake', *sae* and *sai* 'interval', *pukkŭrŏum* and *pukkŭrŏm* 'shame', 'confusion', *kŭrŏt'a* and *kŭrŏhada* 'such'; *irŏn*, *irŏhan* 'such'; *nŭ* and *nŭgŭ* 'who'; *ssam* and *ssaum* 'struggle'; *ae*, *ai* 'child'; *yaegi* and *iyagi* 'tale', and so on.

In the Korean language, a word appears as a unity of structural modifications in two aspects: 1) outside speech (as a unit of vocabulary); 2) in the flow of speech (in all the diversity of functional forms: relational and derivational). Here, we vividly see the divi-

sibility of the word into its principal category, which expresses the lexical meaning, and the formal-functional category, which represents a given grammatical meaning.

The relational functional form serves to express the relations of the given object of thought towards other objects of the same sentence. Such, for example, are the forms of the cases, the verbal particle, etc. The derivational functional form serves to express additional formal or semantic shades. Such, for instance, are the forms of the plural, annexing indication, limiting indication, etc. Both relational and derivational forms are formed by means of affixes that express certain grammatical categories. And relational forms are used to express positional categories, that is, categories associated with a definite syntactic function of the word in the sentence. On the contrary, the derivational forms express mainly non-positional categories.

The most characteristic peculiarity of derivational forms is the combination of two shades of meaning -- semantic and formal. Thus, for example, the group of affixes that are used to express the "category of clarification", is of a dual nature: on the one hand, the use of these affixes is not associated with the position of the word in the sentence and they can enter into the composition of various members of the sentence -- subject, object, and others that are expressed by different parts

of speech, but mainly substantives; on the other hand, being components of the word form, they play (in large measure) the same part as the relational affixes. In them, the expression of the semantic shade is combined with the expression of some modicum of formal meaning, with the result that in a number of cases derivational affixes "supplant" the relational affixes in the functional form, for example: na=do ka=nda 'I am going also', kũ =nũn sinmun=do po=nda 'he is also reading the newspaper', etc. In such cases, omission of the derivational affix makes the functional form, as a rule, deficient, and in many cases the affix cannot be omitted.

The principal difference between word-changing and form-building is that the nonpositional grammatical categories are expressed by means of word-changing effected via word-changing suffixes that as yet do not create a functional form. Yet, the positional grammatical categories are, as a rule, expressed by means of form-building (i.e., the building of word forms as members of the sentence). In specific cases, only derivational word forms are an exception.

In modern Korean, the functional forms in the majority of cases are distinguished according to groups of the parts of speech: forms of words that are united into groups of substantives (nouns, numerals, pronouns) and forms of words that are united into the group of predi-

catives (verb and predicative adjective; links, too, are included on the basis of peculiarities in form-building). Distinguished are **forms** peculiar only to substantives, and forms peculiar only to predicatives. The differentiation according to systems of form-building is reflected also in the traditional division of the parts of speech into two classes: substantives (cheŏn - "substance words") and predicatives (yŏngŏn "assidance words").

Insofar as the formation of a functional form is usually conditioned also by the syntactic role of the word in the sentence, the formation of the functional form of a word is a complex process of the interaction of the form of the word as a part of speech and the form of the word as a member of the sentence. For example, in those cases when the verb plays the unusual role of subject, object, etc., it is, as it were, equated to the substantive (it is used in the form of an infinitive), and its functional forms appear in accordance with the paradigm of a substantive declension. And, conversely, the necessary equating of the form of the substantive to the form of the predicative occurs when the substantive appears in the sentence in an unusual function, for example, in the function of the predicate.

Two types of affixes can **participate in the formation** of certain functional forms: the principal affixes and

their analogues. The "principal" affix is the most universal affix in meaning and the most widely used type of affix. The use of the analogues of the principal affix is connected with definite shades of meaning. (To illustrate: the affix=ege and its analogues=hant^ce and=tōrō, etc.).

The principal affixes of the relational and derivational forms can have variants, and then we differentiate single (=e, =ŭi, =to, =man, etc.) and parallel (=ga//i, =rŭl//ŭl, =wt//kwa, =nŭn//ŭn, etc.) affixes, which in turn may have correlational (=ege//ge, =esō//sō, =rul//l, =myōn, =myōnŭn, =daga, =da, etc.) and conversation-dialectical variants (=ŭi, =e, =to - =tu, =ko=-ku, etc.).

Parallel affixes are semantically equivalent and are used according as the root (stem) of the word ends in a vowel or consonant sound. The use of correlational (mostly the so-called "truncated") affix variants is dependent upon the grammatical and stylistical conditions.

In certain cases, the differentiation of word-building and form-building in the Korean language, like other languages, is rather difficult due to the fact that the functions and meanings of certain affixes in the language are not uniform. Compare, for example, the suffixes of voice in the verbs chuk=ta 'to die', chug=i=da 'to kill', mōk=ta 'to eat', mōg=i=da 'to feed', etc. which at the same time form verbs from the adjectives nop=ta 'high',

noph=i=da 'raise', etc. Similarly, in the system of form-building itself it is not always possible to distinguish between relational and derivational forms.

The word form in the Korean language is of dual significance: first of all, it is the form of a given word, yet at the same time it is also the form of a word-combination consisting of words referring to the given word. For example, tosi=wa nongch^on=ŭl pokku-hay^otta 'they rehabilitated the towns and villages'; nopko p^curŭn hanŭl 'the high blue sky'. In these examples, the form of the accusative case of the substantive and the definitive form of the adjective are simultaneously the form of the concluding member of the word combination and the form of the word combination as a grammatical unit.

However, there are also cases **when** the form of the word-combination predominates over the form of the word. This means that the formation of a word-combination form is possible according to the model of the word form (by means of the same form-building morphemes); this is observed when the word combination appears in the sentence in a function not peculiar to its concluding word.

... hy^ony^og =e itk^ona yebiy^og=e itk^ona=rŭl mangnonha-go... 'irrespective of whether they are in active military service or in the reserve'...

...py^ongyang chip iyagi=my^o sonjadŭr=ŭi iyagi=my^o=rŭl twemutko twemutko hay^otta 'He asked and asked about his home in Pyongyang, about his grandchildren'

...chogug=ŭi p^cyŏnghwajŏk t'ongir=ŭl wihayŏ=sŏ=ŭi
pangch'aek 'measures for the purpose of peaceful uni-
fication of the fatherland...

ŭp=nae mot mich^cŏ=e innŭn chungan wetten chumag=esŏ
chatta

'I spent the night in aninn that stood all by it-
self in the middle of the road, and did not reach the
county centre';

...pŏbyŏng chŏnt^cu sŏyŏr=ŭl chinasŏ=ŭi ttangk^cŭ
haengdong...

'the action of the tanks after they passed the
battle order of the infantry...'

The foregoing examples show that in the Korean lan-
guage a word-combination as a grammatical unit can have
its own form that does not coincide with the form of its
last member. As a special case of the formation of word-
combination forms, one may also regard such forms in
which there is created an apparent isolation of the form-
building affixes (their building onto the forms of final
predicativity of the type: ha=n=da=nŭn ha=nŭn=ga=rŭl,
etc.).

When considering word-combination forms it becomes
necessary to distinguish between a word-combination and
a complex word, which often coincides with the word-
combination structurally.

Compare the following: haepal 'the sun's rays and
achim isŭl 'the morning dew' (the first word is a sub-

stantive in the form of a stem); naragada 'to fly away' and nōmōkada 'to pass over... and leave': san=ul nōmō mōn de-ro katta 'I went over the mountains and left for far-away lands' (the first verb is in the form of a verbal participle of precedence); k'ūnabōji 'the older brother of the father' and k'ūn kabang 'the big bag' (the first word is an adjective in an attributive form).

The similarity between a complex word and a word-combination is not confined to purely structural factors: certain types of word-combinations (a substantive in the form of a stem plus another substantive) are also syntactically equivalent to a complex word. Thus, for example, an attribute preceding the first member of this word-combination is, as a rule, correlated in meaning with the entire word-combination (sasohan kyuyul wiban 'the slightest violation of discipline').

If there is something common to both the word and the word-combination, there are peculiarities that make possible their differentiation.

1. Structurally, a complex word differs from a word-combination by the constancy of the form of its first component. For example, in the complex word k'ūnagi 'the eldest daughter', the adjective k'ūda 'big' cannot have any other modifying forms. As for word-combinations, their first components can have at least two forms: kyōngje charip u kyōngje=ūi charip 'economic independence'; kip'ūn kang 'blue river', kiptōn kang 'a river formerly blue'.

2. The meanings of some complex words are idiomatic: *kurūmttari* (cloud-bridge) 'hanging bridge'; *naeryōgada* (to leave by descending) 'to leave the capital for the provinces'.

3. Phonetically complex words are joined with non-derivatives and differ from word-combinations: the initial sounds of the second components of certain words are subject to alterations (the appearance of a strong consonant, *k'okkumōng* 'nostril', the presence of an unmotivated sound, *kkongnip* 'the petal of a flower'). In a complex word, apparently, the stress falls only on one component (Cf. *saeppyōl* 'morning star' and *sae pyol* 'nova'), the absence of a pause in the pronunciation of a complex word and a pause in the pronunciation of a word-combination (Cf. *chosōnso* 'wharf' and *chosōn so* 'cattle of Korean breed').

Thus, a complex word differs from a word-combination structurally, semantically, and phonetically. However, the structural stability and indivisibility is the most essential and general feature of a word.

In connection with the necessity of differentiating between a complex word and a word-combination there arises the question of the structural correlation of units of the type *inmin wiwōnhwe* 'the people's committee', *inmin kunde* 'the people's army'. These combinations of words, like complex words, are stable and indivisible, and designate a single concept, yet their semantic unity and struc-

tural stability is of a different kind. Whereas the monosemantic property in the word sanmōri 'summit of the mountain' is accompanied by an alteration in the meaning of the second component (mōri 'the heat of man and of an animal' the upper part of an object'), in the combinations of the type under consideration the words retain the meaning in which they are ordinarily used. These combinations are of a terminological nature. Their structural stability is due to the fact that they are terms, which, as such, are, above all, characterized by stability of composition and forms of the component words. From the viewpoint of the structure, word-combinations of the type inmin wiwōnhwe are closer to complex words than to word-combinations. However, the absence of any other features of a complex word does not permit us to consider them as lexical-type complex units.

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G. A. MELIKICHVILI, *Тбилиси*

LA POPULATION DES RÉGIONS
SEPTENTRIONALES DE NAÏRI-OURARTOU
ET SON RÔLE DANS L'HISTOIRE
DE L'ANCIEN ORIENT

EDITIONS DE LITTÉRATURE ORIENTALE
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Parmi les formations ethniques et politiques entourant l'Ourartou un très grand intérêt présentent les associations qui se trouvaient dans les régions situées au nord de Naïri-Ourartou, dans la Transcaucasie du sud et sur les côtes sud-est de la mer Noire. Il s'agit de la région septentrionale la plus éloignée parmi celles qui sont mentionnées dans les monuments écrits de l'Ancien Orient. Les quelques données que nous fournissent ces sources vont nous permettre d'expliquer le rôle joué par la population de la Transcaucasie dans le processus historique qui se déroulait dans l'Ancien Orient. La population de la Transcaucasie a certainement été, dès l'époque la plus reculée liée de diverses façons aux peuples habitant les régions situées plus au sud; et bien souvent, surtout lorsque de grands ébranlements secouaient le Proche-Orient, la population de la Transcaucasie commençait à prendre une part active aux événements dont les régions méridionales étaient l'arène. D'autre part, une étude de la situation qui régnait dans les provinces septentrionales de Naïri-Ourartou est excessivement importante pour celui qui cherche à comprendre le processus historique qui se développait à la même époque ou à une époque postérieure dans les régions internes de la Transcaucasie.

De même que le "Naïri" des Assyriens (nom général de sens vague employé pour désigner le territoire situé au nord de l'Assyrie), les Ourartéens avaient également un nom pour désigner d'une façon plus ou moins vague le territoire du nord. Les inscriptions ourartéennes emploient le nom d'Etyouni pour désigner le vaste territoire de la Transcaucasie du sud, depuis la région de Kars et

du lac de Theldir (à l'ouest) jusqu'au lac de Sevan (à l'est). La nature de ce mot reste assez obscure. Ce n'est certainement pas le nom de quelque formation politique. Les inscriptions nous révèlent la présence sur ce territoire de nombreuses formations politiques, indépendantes l'une de l'autre, et ayant chacune son "roi". Etyouni (variante: Etyoukhi) doit être quelque nom commun ou une notion géographique. Toutefois, de même que "Nafri" n'est pas un nom assyrien et provient vraisemblablement du nom d'une région de Nafri, située au nord des monts de Kachyari, la région hourrite du nom de Nahrria (ou Nihria; cf. Nihiriani ourartéen), "Etyou (ni/khi)" pouvait également être un mot non ourartéen, dont l'origine serait autochtone. La forme de ce mot a des analogies dans quantité de toponymes ou ethnonymes locaux.

Nous nous sommes aperçus que les inscriptions ourartéennes citent pour la région du lac de Sevan quantité de noms de lieux, terminés par -iu (iw): tels sont les noms des agglomérations et des régions Ichthikounive, Louerounive, Kam(a)nive, Aydamanive, Arkoukive. Il est fort probable que le nom de la principale agglomération de Uelikuhi, grande région située près du lac de Sevan, a été formé de la même façon: "ville" [] riu(ni). Comp. aussi le nom de la "ville royale" du pays Puluadi Libliu (ni) qu'on trouve dans une inscription cunéiforme ourartéenne de Sardouri II récemment découverte dans la région septentrionale de l'Azerbaïdjan Iranien (sur le territoire qui est limitrophe de la région du Sevan du côté du sud (v.op. Mélikichvili G.A. Les inscriptions cunéiformes d'Ourartou, M.1960, Postface).

La "ville" d'Irdanive" était située un peu plus loin, à l'ouest du lac de Sevan dans le pays d'Eriakhi. Ceci nous permet de voir le même suffixe dans le nom du pays d'Etyou (Etive) (Etiu-ni/hi). Cherchant la sphère linguistique à laquelle pouvait appartenir ledit suffixe, nous nous apercevons que le suffixe -ib sert souvent à former les noms de lieux (Gounibe, Tsouribe, Kakhibe, Artchibe, Galibe, etc.) dans les langues du Daghestan.

Tous ces noms de lieux sont d'après leur fonction morphologique, une des variantes du locatif, formée à l'aide de l'indice de la catégorie grammaticale de chose, "b", et de la voyelle de liaison la plus répandue, "i".

Les radicaux des noms ethnonymiques : cette région offrent quantité de formations parallèles avec l'ethnonymie de l'ancienne Albanie. Il est notoirement admis que le nom de la population qui avait habité la région située près du lac de Sevan, Oudouri (Etyouni) et que les sources ourartéennes citent en y ajoutant le déterminatif des noms des tribus, ce nom offre des ressemblances avec le nom d'une tribu albanaise, la tribu des oudes. Ces derniers, qui, d'après les anciens auteurs (Strabon, Pline l'Ancien, Claude Ptolémée) étaient très nombreux sur le territoire de l'Albanie, ne sont actuellement guère conservés que dans quelques villages, voisins les uns des autres, situés en Géorgie et en Azerbaïdjan. Leur langue appartient au groupe nord-est (celui du Daghestan) des langues ibéro-caucasiennes. Depuis la découverte de l'"Alphabet albanais" et d'autres données récentes, on sait que les langues de l'Albanie caucasienne doivent être classées parmi les langues de ce groupe.

D'autre part, on a remarqué que le Erya (chi), nom d'une association importante, attesté par les inscriptions ourartéennes, trouvées à Léninakan, est le même nom que celui de la tribu des Hères ("herni") - tribu albanaise localisée sur le cours inférieur de la rivière d'Iori (région d'Erethi). Ce nom de tribu est largement attesté par les sources géorgiennes. Si on acceptait ce rapprochement, on devrait considérer que le territoire de la diffusion de ces tribus se trouvait plus étendu vers le sud et le sud-ouest, dans la direction de la ville moderne de Léninakan et de cours moyen de Koura.

D'ailleurs, la conclusion tirée ci-dessus, concernant la présence des tribus albanaises dans les régions orientales de l'Etyouni, ne nous paraît pas tellement surprenante. Il s'agit ici du territoire attenant directement à l'Albanie Caucasienne et à la Médie-Atropathène. Les savants ont maintes fois émis l'opinion d'après laquelle la composition ethnique de la population de ces deux régions serait homogène et de même nature que le nord-est caucasien. A ce propos il faut indiquer la présence de toute une série de toponymes et d'ethnonymes, propres aux régions albanaises et aux régions du Daghestan, d'une part, et à la région du lac d'Ourmiah, de l'autre: p.ex., pour l'ancienne Albanie citons la principale agglomération de la région de Zikirtou - Parda et attenant à la mer Caspienne; comparons ces noms aux noms analogiques, tirés de la toponymie moderne du Daghestan (sous le nom d'andien on désigne aussi une des langues parlées dans le Daghestan); par ailleurs, comparons aus-

si Dourdoukka (variante: Zourzoukka), on d'une bourgade manéenne, au nom d'une tribu du Caucase du nord, les Dourdzoukés.

Quantité de parallèles dans la structure grammaticale des langues zagro-élamit, d'une part, et des langues caucasiennes, de l'autre, la présence même de quelques parallèles lexicaux poussent les savants qui étudient la population zagro-élaméenne et leurs langues à avoir recours aux données caucasiennes. Le problème des liens génétiques unissant la population qui habite les montagnes de Zagros, les régions attenantes au lac d'Ourmiah et au lac de Sevan, la zone attenante à la côte occidentale de la mer Caspienne, le territoire de l'Albanie caucasienne y compris (la Transcaucasie orientale) ce problème nécessite une étude ultérieure approfondie.

Toute une série de problèmes se présente aussi lorsque nous étudions l'autre artère fondamentale qui unit le Caucase aux zones attenantes à la côte orientale et à la côte sud-est de la mer Noire. Les sources assyriennes et ourartéennes citent beaucoup de noms de régions, de tribus, d'agglomérations disposées sur le territoire attenante à la côte sud-est de la mer Noire. Les sources hittites fournissent également une quantité considérable de données onomastiques, ethno- et toponymiques sur les régions voisines situées dans le nord-est de l'Asie Mineure. L'étude de ces données fait soulever beaucoup de problèmes intéressants. Un de ces problèmes est celui de la diffusion de la population hourrite dans la direction du nord.

Dans la première moitié du premier millénaire av.

l'ère nouvelle la population hourrite subsistait encore dans beaucoup de régions situées à l'ouest du lac de Van. Išwa, Alzi, Arme, Šupria sont incontestablement d'origine hourrite. Ceci nous explique que la présence de noms de lieux hourrites sur le territoire appartenant directement à ces régions du côté nord n'est pas due au hasard. Le nom de Souhmi (Souchni), province occupant les côtes du cours supérieur de l'Euphrate occidental (Qara-sou), ainsi que celui de son agglomération principale, Uastal, portent une empreinte hourrite, de même que le nom de la province de Dayaeni, située au nord-ouest de Suhmi (nom hittite: Zuhma) non loin de l'emplacement où se trouve aujourd'hui la ville d'Erzérourm. Le "roi" de ce pays, Si-e-ni, que nous connaissons par les inscriptions de Tiglathpileser I, porte également un nom hourrite. Dans la région de Kars les inscriptions ourartéennes attestent le nom d'une agglomération que nous reconnaissons encore comme un nom hourrite, c'est Aštuhina. Ces données nous font reconnaître le fait de diffusion de la population hourrite dans une région aussi éloignée dans la direction du nord. Ceci trouve un appui dans une note d'Hérodote (III, 94), où il est dit que les Matiènes (on approche leur nom du nom des Hurri-Mitanniens), les Saspères (tribus de la Géorgie orientale) et les Alarodes (population ourartéenne habitant au nord du lac de Van) faisaient partie de la 18^e satrapie de l'Empire des Achéménides. Dans ces "Matiènes" il faut sans doute reconnaître les descendants de la population hourrite, mentionnée ci-dessus.

D'autre part, en étudiant l'ethnonymie du II-I millénaire av. l'ère nouvelle dans les régions situées plus

au sud, c.à d. dans les parties nord-est de l'Asie Mineure et dans quelques endroits de Mésopotamie septentrionale, nous rencontrons quelques noms de tribus que nous pouvons rapprocher de ceux des régions septentrionales du Caucase. On pouvait supposer que la ressemblance du nom des Kachkes, que nous connaissons par les textes hittites, et du nom que l'on donnait aux Circassiens (Adhighés)-Kachag, que cette ressemblance était tout simplement due au hasard, mais quand on établit la présence d'abešla employé comme variante à kaš-ka dans les inscriptions assyriennes (O.Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, historischen Inhalts, Bd II, Lpz. 1921, No 17 a; les fragments des annales No 1, 2; plus loin KAH); l'on trouve aussi des parallèles à abešla dans les régions du Caucase septentrional (et ceci dans le nom de tribu des Apchiles - Ἀψιλλαι, Absilae du groupe Abkhazo-Adighéen). Considérant tous ces parallèles et toutes ces ressemblances, on doute que ceci ait pu être uniquement un effet du hasard. Il est vrai qu'une étude approfondie de l'onomastique des Kachkes, attestée par les sources hittites, fait ressortir une grande quantité d'éléments protohittites; mais partant là aussi des ressemblances qu'offre la langue protohittite avec les langues ibéro-caucasiennes, en particulier avec les langues du Caucase septentrional, nous expliquons la présence des éléments venant du Caucase septentrional dans l'ethnonymie de cette région par les liens génétiques et un apparentement ethnique.

D'ailleurs, chez les hittites le nom de "kaška" semble avoir été un nom collectif désignant les mon-

tagnards du nord-est et pouvant être appliqué à de différentes tribus. On sait qu'après la chute de l'empire hittito-nésitéen, les Kachkes se dirigèrent vers le midi et pénétrèrent dans la Mésopotamie septentrionale; nous rapprochons ce fait de l'apparition dans ces parages du nom de "Tsop" (ourart.-Supani, assyr.-Supa, armén.-Tsopk), qui récapitule le nom d'une tribu très répandue dans le Caucase septentrional, les "Tsov".

Les côtes sud-est de la mer Noire ont été, depuis une époque très reculée, le foyer des tribus géorgiennes (des tribus de Géorgie de l'ouest). A ce propos on peut signaler la mention du pays de Halitu parmi les régions de l'Asie Mineure, conquises par le roi ourartéen Rousa II (685-645). Ce pays de Halitu, c.à d. le pays des Chaldéens, comme le nommaient les Arméniens, désignant ainsi la population voisine tsane de la Géorgie occidentale, ce pays est mentionné à côté du pays de Hate et des Mouchkes. Hate, nom du "Royaume Hittite", vers cette époque correspondait à la Syrie septentrionale et à l'extrémité sud-ouest de l'Asie Mineure, peut-être même à cette dernière région seulement. Ainsi, trouvant le nom de Halitu mentionné à côté des unités aussi importantes que "Hate" et les "Mouchkes" (le royaume phrygien), nous pensons qu'il est possible de voir dans ce terme ourartéen une correspondance au nom de Tabalou des Assyriens, qui était, à côté du royaume des Mouchkes, la plus importante unité des régions orientales de l'Asie Mineure. Dans ce cas, on peut supposer qu'une partie, au moins, de la population tabalouenne se composait des tribus de Géorgie occidentale.

Nous pensons trouver une preuve à l'appui de cette thèse dans la possibilité d'établir l'étymologie du nom de Tabales en partant du géorgien (du "taba" - "toba" - "lac"), d'autre part, nous pensons aussi aux rapports entre les Tabales et les Tibarénes, une ramification des Tabales, habitant plus au nord et qui apparaissent le plus souvent entourés des tribus dont l'origine géorgienne (de Géorgie occidentale), ne fait pas de doute. Nous estimons que les Assyriens employaient le nom de "Tabal" (de même que Halitu, sa correspondance ourartéenne) en qualité de nom collectif. Dans la région désignée sous ce nom, nous trouvons à côté de la présence supposée de quelques tribus géorgiennes, une quantité considérable d'autres peuplades: les tribus louvites, les tribus "hittites-hiéroglyphiques", les Kachkes, etc.

-x-x-x-x-x-x-

Etudiant d'après les sources assyriennes et ourartéennes la situation historique qui existait dans les régions septentrionales de Nairi-Ourartou, nous pouvons, dans une certaine mesure, nous faire une idée quant au processus de l'évolution ethnique, sociale, économique et politique de la population dans ces régions, et, en partie, dans les régions de la Transcaucasie, situées plus au nord.

D'après les fouilles archéologiques pratiquées dans la riche sépulture ancienne de Trialeti, le niveau de civilisation de la population qui habitait les différentes régions de la Transcaucasie du sud était assez élevée vers le milieu du deuxième millénaire av. l'ère nouvelle. Les sources hittites des XV-XIII ss. av. l'ère

nouvelle attestent que le niveau social de la population des régions montagneuses du nord-est de l'Asie Mineure était à peu près le même. Le développement social n'avait pas encore atteint le niveau de la formation d'un état. Les annales de Moursil II opposent à l'administration royale l'administration "à la façon des Kachkes", qui n'étaient pas gouvernés par un roi. Dans les associations voisines de Zouchma, de Hayassa, de Maldya, etc., nous voyons apparaître à côté des "rois", les "anciens" les "gens" (le peuple) de telle ou telle région; ils personnifient la souveraineté de de leur pays.

L'époque tumultueuse de la chute du Royaume Hittite et du Royaume Mitanni, a provoqué aussi des mouvements de la population qui habitait les régions attenantes à la côte sud-est de la mer Noire et la Transcaucasie du sud. Une partie de ces tribus se dirigea vers le sud (quelques tribus de Kachkes, de Mouckes-Meatches, de Tibarènes-Tabales).

Les conflits militaires paraissent être typique à ce niveau de développement social. Ces conflits ne cessant presque jamais, parmi la partie de la population restée sur place on voit se former de vastes associations de tribus; la situation historique, dans son ensemble, favorisait ces formations, qui progressaient très rapidement.

Une de ces vastes associations de tribus était celle qui s'était formée dans la région de la ville moderne d'Erzérout et du haut Qara-sou (l'Euphrate Occidental); cette association portait le nom de Dayaeni (Dyaouchi). En 1112 av. l'ère nouvelle le chef de cette

association, Sieni, est à la tête d'une coalition de 23 pays de Nafri; cette association entre en conflit avec Tiglathpileser I, roi assyrien. Pour juger de quelles proportions a été cette association des pays de Nafri, à la tête de laquelle nous trouvons Sieni, roi dyaouchien, essayons de localiser les différents pays de Nafri qui faisaient parti de cette coalition, ce qui nous permettra de résoudre ce problème. Parmi les pays de Nafri énumérés dans cette inscription, la plus grande partie n'est pas du tout attestée ailleurs. Quelques-uns seulement sont mentionnés dans d'autres inscriptions. Ainsi, nous connaissons le pays de Himoua, dont le nom (sous la forme de "Hemmouwa") revient dans les sources hittites où il est cité en rapport soit avec les pays d'Isouwa (région, située à la rive gauche de l'Euphrate, à l'est de Malatia), soit avec le pays de Tegaramma (situé au nord-ouest de la Malatia et nommé Til-Garimmou par les sources assyriennes). Tounoube devait être situé au nord de la source du Tigre. Le plus important paraît, dans cet ordre d'idées, de localiser le pays de Toumme, car le problème de proportions de l'association étudiée en dépend dans une mesure considérable. D'après les données des inscriptions d'Assurnasirapal II, il y a un pays, portant ce nom, qu'on localise parfois au sud du lac d'Ourmiah.

Ainsi, la montagne d'Etini, qui se trouverait, d'après un passage, sur le territoire du pays de Toumme (D.D.Luckenbil, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, Chicago, 1926-27, 1-454; plus loin-ARAB), est citée, dans un autre passage, en rapport avec le pays de Zamoua (ARAB, 1,440), situé au sud du lac d'Ourmiah. Pourtant, si on

doit prendre en considération les inscriptions de Salmanassar III, une telle localisation du pays de Tounme paraît tout à fait invraisemblable. D'après ces dernières données, c'est au nord du lac de Van, entre le pays de Dayaeni et celui d'Ourartou, qu'il faut localiser cette région. Il faut croire que le pays de Tounme de Tiglathpileser I et de Salmanassar III n'a rien à voir avec le pays de Tounme d'Assurnasirapal II. On sait qu'à un moment donnée on déchiffrait le nom de ce pays comme nim-me. Toutefois, depuis qu'on avait découvert au nord du lac de Van, près d'Undjalou (non loin de Malazgirté) l'inscription de Tiglathpileser I et qu'on ait trouvé le nom de ce pays sous la forme de tu-um-mi, la leçon de nim-me a été abandonnée et on accepta, dorénavant, celle de tum-me. Il y avait, donc, deux pays dont le nom s'écrivait de la même façon dans les inscriptions, le mieux serait d'admettre que ce nom se prononçait différemment dans les deux cas. Prenant en considération ce qui a été dit plus haut sur l'inscription venant d'Undjalou, on ne saurait douter de la prononciation de Tumme pour le nom du pays, situé au nord du lac de Van. Quant à celui du pays situé au sud du lac d'Ourmiah, il faut, sans doute, donner la préférence à la prononciation nim-me (ce pays est, évidemment, identique à la région de nim-ni qui nous apparaît dans l'inscription de Tiglathpileser I comme devant se trouver dans le pays de Habhi (ARAB, 1, 233). Ceci nous fait écarter la supposition, suivant laquelle l'association des tribus du pays de Nafri engloberait la population habitant les pays s'étendant au nord-ouest jusqu'à la région où nous avons aujourd'hui la ville d'Erzérroum et au sud-est jusqu'aux régions, si-

tuées au sud du lac d'Ourmiah. Cependant, il apparaît ainsi que le pays de Dayaeni était à la tête d'une association considérable, qui groupait la population habitant un vaste territoire, situé au nord et à l'ouest du lac de Van.

En interprétant les inscriptions du même Tiglathpileser I, inscriptions qui se rapportent aux campagnes de ce roi contre le pays de Naïri, nous apprenons l'existence d'une autre union de tribus qui devait bientôt devenir une vaste association assez stable. Un groupe réunissant "60 rois" vint à l'aide du groupement des pays de Naïri, à la tête duquel se trouvait le roi dyaouchien, Sieni. Tiglathpileser I emporta également la victoire sur le groupement de "60 rois" et les poursuivit jusqu'à la "mer Supérieure" - leur point de départ, sans doute. L'action se déroulant au nord du lac de Van, les savants supposent que la "mer Supérieure" n'est rien d'autre que la mer Noire. Nous apprenons, donc, que le territoire attenant à la côte sud-est de la mer Noire était habité par de différentes tribus qui, le cas échéant, savaient se grouper pour une résistance commune, c.à d. qu'une association de tribus était en voie de formation dans cette région. Une interprétation des autres inscriptions du même roi assyrien nous amène à établir le nom de cette région attenant à la mer Noire. Relatant les conquêtes dans les pays de Naïri, les inscriptions de Tiglathpileser I nous apprennent la limite des conquêtes assyriennes dans cette direction; ce sont: 1) les pays de Dayaeni, d'Himoua, de Payteri et de Habhi (KAH, II, 68, 71), 2) le pays de Dayaeni et la mer Supérieure (le fragment des annales No 2), 3) les pays de

Dayaeni (et) de Habhi jusqu'à la Grande mer (inscription d'Undjalou).

Nous en concluons, que l'extrême limite des conquêtes assyriennes s'étendait jusqu'à la mer Supérieure (ou la Grande mer) et le pays de Habhi attenait à cette mer. Nous avons déjà dit que la Grande mer Supérieure nous paraît être la mer Noire. Il paraît invraisemblable que le lac de Van pût être mentionné avec l'épithète de "grand". Quant à la mer Caspienne, on devrait certainement écarter cette hypothèse, ne serait-ce qu'à cause du pays de Himoua (Hemmouwa, d'après les sources hittites), et, surtout, du pays de Dayaeni, qui ne pouvait se trouver dans cette direction. Toutefois, la localisation du pays de Habhi dans la région attenait à la mer Noire est contraire à ce que nous savons sur ce pays. Car d'après les autres sources, le pays de Habhi serait localisé au sud du lac de Van et n'atteindrait ni aux lacs, ni aux mers. Tout ceci nous fait supposer que le pays de Habhi, situé à la côte de la mer Noire, et le pays de Habhi, situé plus loin dans la direction du sud, sont, tout simplement, deux pays différents. Il se peut que ce cas soit le même que celui de nimme-tumme, et que sur les deux Habhi il y ait un dont le nom doit être lu autrement. Après les études faites par E. Forrer ("Revue d'assyriologie", I, 281) on ne saurait douter de la justesse de la lecture, en ce qui concerne le "Habhi" meridional; reste, donc, à établir le nom du pays, situé plus au nord et atteignant à la mer Noire. Le signe cunéiforme qui est au commencement de ce mot peut avoir plusieurs significations; partant du nom que cette région porte à une époque postérieure (qulha - en ourartéen, "Kolchi-

de" - chez les Grecs et les Romains), nous sommes tentés de choisir la signification "quil" et de lire ce nom "Kilchi". Nous supposons, donc, que les inscriptions assyriennes des XII-XI ss. av. l'ère nouvelle nous révèlent déjà le nom de Kolchide sous la forme de "Kilchi".

Cette documentation nous montre l'époque où la formation de l'association des tribus kolches ne faisait que commencer. Bientôt cette association se transforma en une union stable de tribus, union qui devint plus tard une formation d'état esclavagiste primitif. Pendant les premiers siècles du premier millénaire av. l'ère nouvelle, la zone d'influence de cette formation politique couvrait un vaste territoire attenant à la côte sud-est de la mer Noire. Les Grecs qui entrèrent en contact avec cette région à l'époque où l'association kolche (Kilchi, Koulcha-Kolcha) était devenue très puissante, propagèrent son nom sur toute la région, d'où vint, sans doute, le nom collectif de "Kolchide". Dans les légendes grecques sur les argonautes il faut voir, sans doute, une réminiscence poétique de cette vaste association des tribus kolches. Cette association dut exercer une influence civilisatrice sur un vaste territoire et contribuer à la formation d'un vaste domaine où florissait la culture de l'âge de bronze. Ce domaine s'étendait à un large territoire qui attenait à la côte sud-est de la mer Noire. On désigne cette formation sous le nom de culture "kolche" ou "kolchido-kobane".

Les inscriptions ourartéennes du IX-VIII ss. av. l'ère nouvelle citent également ces deux associations - le Dyaouchi et la Kolchide (Kilchi, Koulcha). Nous apprenons que l'association de Dyaouchi s'était beaucoup

affaiblie sous les coups que lui avait assené l'Ourartou. Les chefs de la Kolchide l'anéantirent définitivement. C'est dans la région du bas Tchorock et non pas du côté du Phase (Ryon) qu'il faut chercher le centre politique de la Kolchide à cette époque. Si le centre politique devait se trouver loin au nord, comment expliquerait-on une si grande activité des rois de la Kolchide dans les régions méridionales, régions où ils se heurtaient aux ourartéens ?

Le Dyaouchi et la Koulcha n'ont été, malgré tout, que des unités politiques relativement restreintes. Ils étaient entourés d'une population vivant dans les conditions du régime de la commune primitive. La présence sur le même territoire de nombreux "rois" (chefs des tribus), la diffusion en masse comme le principal type de hameau des bourgs très peu fortifiés, situés au centre de plusieurs agglomérations pas fortifiées du tout, font revivre devant nous un tableau très net de morcellement en tribus et en clans (ce dernier mot étant employé dans le sens du latin "gens").

Les associations de tribus, voisines des associations de Dyaouchi et de Kolcha, prenaient une part active à la lutte de ces deux grandes formations politiques rivales. A la première moitié du VIII s. av. l'ère nouvelle, nous voyons ces associations voisines alliées à l'association de Dyaouchi dans la lutte contre Ourartou, qui devait leur paraître un ennemi plus dangereux, et, peut-être, aussi contre Koulcha (la Kolchide). Lorsque Arguichti I, roi ourartéen, entreprit sa campagne contre Dyaouchi, presque toutes les grandes associations de la Transcaucasie méridionale vinrent en aide au pays attaqué;

parmi les associations qui marchèrent à côté de Dyaouchi, notons Viterouchi, Katarza, Igani, Eryachi et d'autres. Nous ne voyons pas parmi eux le chef de l'association de Koulcha, qui, sans doute, ne rêvait qu'à un affaiblissement de son ancien rival. Et, en effet, profitant de la défaite de Dyaouchi, l'association de Koulcha s'y mêla et étendit sa zone d'influence aux régions où précédemment exerçait son influence Dyaouchi. Ainsi l'ancienne zone de Dyaouchi fut partagée entre Ourartou qui annexa la partie méridionale de Dyaouchi et Koulcha qui prit la partie septentrionale. Dorénavant, c'étaient les deux rivaux puissants qui s'affrontaient. Les inscriptions de Sardouri II nous parlent des campagnes contre Koulcha. Cependant, bientôt, ces deux formations politiques devaient s'allier contre un nouvel ennemi commun, contre les Cimmériens qui dans les années 20 du VIII^e s. av. l'ère nouvelle envahirent la côte orientale de la mer Noire. Malgré plusieurs défaites infligées par les Cimmériens, Ourartou réussit, quand même, à subsister, quant à la Koulcha qui se trouvait sur le passage des Cimmériens, elle fut complètement dévastée.

Il faut croire que les tribus de montagnards du voisinage profitèrent de la situation. Ils avaient eu à souffrir de leurs puissants voisins, les rois de la Kolchide, et ils écrasèrent définitivement l'ennemi, déjà fortement ébranlé par l'envahissement des Cimmériens. Les tribus de montagnards du voisinage firent irruption dans les régions centrales de la Kolchide. Le nom même de Kolches disparaît du territoire du bas Tchrorock et des régions limitrophes; par contre nous y trouvons quantité de noms de tribus attestés pour l'époque précédente dans les régions

voisines de la Transcaucasie du Sud ou de la partie orientale de l'Asie Mineure. Ainsi, on voit les Byzères apparaître dans les régions côtières. On rapproche le nom de Byzères du nom ourartéen de Viterouchi; le même nom surgit dans l'appellation d'un des plus anciens centres de la Géorgie méridionale - Odzr(a)che (situé jadis à l'endroit de la station climatique moderne Abastoumani; dans l'antiquité, le nom d'Odzr(a)che était, sans doute, employé pour désigner toute la région postérieurement nommée Samtze). Le nom ourartéen de Katarza apparaît aussi sur le littoral, - dans le nom de Kotarzene, attesté par les auteurs antiques, "située près des monts de Mosches", dans le nom de Goderdz, un col situé entre Samtze et Adjara; c'est sans doute le même qui nous apparaît dans un nom bien connu par la géographie historique géorgienne, celui de Klardjethi - région qui s'étendait jusqu'à la mer. Les inscriptions ourartéennes attestent le nom d'Iganiechi, vaste région située à la côte orientale du lac de Theldir; nous retrouvons cette appellation dans le nom des Henioches, qui avaient joué un rôle prépondérant à l'époque romaine dans la région attenante à la côte sud-est de la mer Noire. Après la chute de Koulcha (royaume de la Kolchide méridionale), la situation dans cette région manquait de stabilité; ce qui favorisa la pénétration des Mouchkes, venus des régions nord-est de l'Asie Mineure.

Tels nous apparaissent certains problèmes concernant l'histoire de la population des régions septentrionales de Naïri-Ourartou examinés à la lumière des données de l'histoire et de l'ethnogénèse des régions limitrophes du Proche Orient et de la Transcaucasie.

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**N. D. MIKLUKHO-MAKLAY, O. F. AKIMUSHKIN,
V. V. KUSHEV, M. A. SALAKHETDINOVA**

**SOME RARE PERSIAN AND TAJIK MSS IN
THE COLLECTION OF THE LENINGRAD
BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL
STUDIES, THE USSR ACADEMY OF
SCIENCES**

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Works dealing with the Persian and Tajik MSS of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences began to appear very early, simultaneously with the foundation of the Asiatic Museum, a predecessor of the present-day Institute of Oriental Studies.¹⁾ Quite numerous by now, they consist chiefly of more or less detailed descriptions of certain collections of MSS²⁾, studies concerned with various MSS,³⁾ short catalogues of the MSS of some collections,⁴⁾ which were published as they were acquired by the former Asiatic Museum, etc. These sources have brought to light a number of valuable records of the Persian language and literature and made widely known the Persian MSS collection of the Asiatic Museum, later that of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

This paper directs attention to certain interesting MSS of the Institute of Oriental Studies which have not hitherto been described and to some valuable copies of the well-known works which have not yet been dealt with or even remained unnoticed. Of course, this being the principle of selection, only some sections of literature in Persian represented by the manuscripts of our collection can be covered by this survey. Thus,

the MSS of historical, biographic and geographic works are not treated here since the first part of the catalogue of Persian and Tajik MSS of the Institute of Oriental Studies, ⁵⁾ and a paper ⁶⁾ have been specially devoted to these subjects.

Mathematics

1. Taqrīr al-tahrīr ("Explanation of the Euclid's elements"). ⁷⁾ Euclid's geometry translated from the Arabic version of Nasīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī "Tahrīr Uqlīdis". The translator is Abū-l-Khair Khair Allāh Khān ibn Luṭf Allāh Muhandis. The work is represented by the autograph with the date of completion 1144/1731-32. Chapters 1-VI are the autograph of the translator's son dated 7 Jumādā-I 1140/21 December 1727. (C 1472, ff. 88, the end is missing).

2. Bahr al-jawāhir ("The Sea of Precious Stones")⁸⁾ The author is 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Muḥammad Amīn Shāhshāhānī al-Husainī al-Isfahānī. This work well known from its copies and popular in Iran was lithographed at least 7 times (in 1271, 1279, twice in 1287, in 1297, 1299, 1316 A.H.).⁹⁾ As is clear in particular from the colophon we have the autograph of

this work written in Rajab 1255/September-October 1839. The date may be regarded as the indication of the time when the work was composed (B 843, ff. 121).

Astronomy and Astrology

3. Kashf-i ḥaqā'iq-i "Zīj-i Ilkhānī". ("The Revelation of the Truths of 'Astronomical Tables of the Ilkhan'").¹⁰⁾ The author is Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad Nīshāpūrī, known under the name of Nizām. The work is a commentary on the famous work by Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī entitled "Zīj-i Ilkhānī"; in our collection it is represented by a copy dated 708/1308-09. The manuscript of the Rampore State Library believed to be the autograph is dated a year later, viz. 10 Dhū-l-qa'dah 709/11 April 1310¹¹⁾ (C 618, ff. 341).

4. A collection of treatises on astronomy.¹²⁾ The author is Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāzī Zādah al-Rūmī (named also Mīrīm Chelebī (died in 931/1524-25), a well-known astronomer at the court of the Turkish Sultan Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512). The collection includes five, evidently quite rare treatises devoted to the design of five astronomical instruments and the handling of them. The first four treatises were written on the order of Bāyazīd II and deal with va-

rious systems of quadrants (rub'). Three treatises are mentioned by Storey,¹² yet judging by the number of chapters, they essentially differ from those represented by the MS in question. The manuscript was copied in Ṣafar 1083/May-June 1672 by Mīr Ismā'il ibn Mīr-i Mīrān Ḥusainī (B 836, ff. 84).

5. Kār-nāmah-i Ṣāhib-Qirān-i Thānī Zīj-i Shāhjahānī ("The Book of the Deeds of the Second Lord of the Happy Conjunction of Stars - Astronomical Tables of Shāh-Jahān").¹³ The author is Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd ibn Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm Dihlawī (died in 1039/1629). This is evidently the earliest extant copy of the work composed in 1039/1629 for Shāh-Jahān. The copy was made on 24 Rajab 1053/8 October 1643. The copyist Muḥammad Afzal ibn Mas'ūd began his service with the Shāh in Rajab 1048/November 1638 in Lahore (D 139, ff., 434).

6. A comparatively early collection of astrological works. Copied in 744/1343-44. The collection includes seven works one of which is the work of the famous astronomer and astrologist Abū Ma'shar Balkhī (died in 277/886). (A 264, ff. 157).

7. Ahkām-i qirānāt ("The Laws of Conjunctions of Stars"). The title is not the original name of the work, but is given to it by one of the owners of the copy. This seems to be a very rare work on astrology.

Judging by its content it dates back to the 14th century. The author Irānshāh ibn 'Alī al-Nīshāpūrī dedicated his work to the ruler of Kuhistan whose name is omitted in our copy. The work consists of three parts (qism), each subdivided into chapters (bāb). The copy is beautifully executed and probably dates back to the 14th century (B 4383, ff. 124).

Medicine

8. Kifāyat al-ṭibb ("Capacity of Medicine").¹⁴⁾

The author is Jamāl al-Dīn Badī' al-Zamān Abū-l-Faḍl Ḥubaish ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Mutaṭabbib al-Ghaznawī (Badī' al-Zamān Ḥabashī in our copy). The copy apparently the oldest known to us was completed on 1 Muḥarram 869/3 September 1464 in the village of Rustamabad of the Kuhdam region (Gilan). According to the introduction the work is divided into two books (kītab), but actually the second one consists of two books: Dar ghadhāhā wa dārūhā-i mufarrad and Dar ghadhāhā wa dārūhā-i murakkab. The concluding part is named Naṣīhat-i ustādān mar shāgirdān-rā. This is an excellent copy executed for Rustam, amir of Kuhdam. The copyist is 'Alī ibn Sharīf al-Ḥusainī (D 144, ff. 201).

9. Khulāṣah-i Shifā'ī ("Shifā'ī Compendium"). The author is Muẓaffar ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī al-Shifā'ī

al-Kāshānī (died in 963/1555-56). The copies of this work are evidently very rare. Ours is only the second of the two books (kitāb) of the work. It consists of three parts (fann) divided into maqālahs and bābs. About half of the second book and a very small piece of the first one, also consisting of three parts (maṭlab) are available in the Library of the Oriental Faculty of the Leningrad State University, ¹⁵⁾ with an introduction containing the fihrist of both books of the work. It is possible that some parts of this work (namely the third maṭlab of the first book Dar adwiyah-i mufarradah and the third fann of the second book Dar adwiyah-i murakkabah) current as separate works are described ¹⁶⁾ under the titles Qarābādīn-i-Shifā'ī or Tibb-i Shifā'ī. The MS is a very good copy dated 20 Shawwal 1038/12 June 1629. The copyist is Muhammad Amīn Turkman. (C 639, ff. 616).

10. a) Tibb-i jadīd-i kīmiyā'ī ("New Chemical Medicine" and b) Kīmiyā bāsiliqā ("Basilica chimica"). These are Persian commentaries on the Arabic translations ¹⁷⁾ of two Latin works whose authors are the well-known physician and chemist Paracelsus (1493-1541) and the alchemist Crollius (died in 1609), respectively. The Arabic translation was executed by Sālih ibn Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥalabī called Ibn Sallūmī

(died in 1669). The Persian commentaries have not hitherto been known but the Persian translation of "Kīmiyā bāsilīqā" is available in one of the manuscript collections of Benares.¹⁸⁾ The existence of the commentaries warrants the conclusions that not only ancient but also late medieval European medicine penetrated into the areas of Central Asia populated by Persian speaking people. The copy was made in Central Asia in 1225/1810. (C 1612, ff. 101). The second work begins on fol. 69a, third line from the bottom, following the first without any demarcation.

Lexicography

11. Al-Ṣurāḥ min al-ṣaḥāḥ ("Clear Speech from Sound [Judgements]"). The compiler is Abū-l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Khālīd known as Jamāl al-Qarshī (Qurashī in certain catalogues). This well-known Arabic-Persian dictionary is represented by an old copy dating back to the autograph of the compiler¹⁹⁾ judging by the colophon.

Our copy was made by two persons and the paleographic data refer it to the end of the 14th century. There are many lacunae in this splendidly executed copy; there are only 381 folios out of the original 614 folios (B 4085).

12. Kitāb al-sāmī fī-l-asāmī ("A Superb Book about Names").²⁰ This is a well-known Arabic-Persian dictionary compiled by 'Alī al-Faḥr al-Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maidānī early in the 12th century. The dictionary is represented by probably the earliest of all copies known. It was copied in 537/1142-1143 (19 years after the author's death). The copyist, Muḥammad ibn Abū-l-Farajī, indicates that he has executed this copy for himself (B 523, ff.155).

Documents

13. A collection of copies of the official Safavid documents dating from the 17th century and pertaining to the province of Astarabad. The manuscript, obviously unfinished, contains 77 documents: edicts and orders of the Shah's offices, and the official correspondence of the bēglarbēgī of Astarabad. Nearly all documents are taken from the book of tax revenues (daftar-i taujīh)²¹ for this province. 28 documents are diplomas (arqām) for various posts; most of them are dated by the end of the year of the serpent i.e., either 1664 or 1676. Two documents are dated 1077/1666-1667 (f.28b) and Rajab 1086/September-October 1675 (f.35b). The collection is a valuable source for studying the admi-

nistration of the province of Astarabad. The collection occupies ff.1b-35b of a manuscript copied on 5 Rajab 1093/10 July 1682. (B 2280).

14. A collection of copies of the official Safavid documents (from the 16th to the 17th centuries).²²⁾ This is a fairly large collection of documents which are partly copies and partly model forms. The collection contains several documents concerned with the hostilities in Shirwan against Alqās Mīrzā. The documents are dated between 954/1547 and 1058/1648. The copy is made in the calligraphic ta'liq probably early in the 18th century. (A 471, ff.216, the beginning of the MS is missing).

15. A collection of copies of diplomatic correspondence and official documents of the beginning of the rule of Shāh 'Abbās I (989-1038/1587-1629). This is an interesting and valuable collection of 64 diplomatic letters and documents, partly in Turkish. It contains the correspondence between 'Abbās I and the Turkish sultans (Murād III and Muḥammad III), the Uzbek rulers ('Abd Allāh Khān, 'Abd al-Mu'min Khān and Dīn Muḥammad Khān, the heir) and the Mogul Emperor Akbar. Besides, the collection contains the letters of the mother of 'Abbās I to the mother of Muḥammad III, the Turkish

sultan, an edict on lowering the taxes levied on the population of Isfahan, letters written by various persons, etc. Most of the letters are dated 1000 - Jumādā-II 1007/1591 - December 1598 naming the c/o person; 13 letters of 'Abbās II were written by his wazīr Hātim Bēg Urdūbādī. The present collection is similar in its composition to that mentioned by A.E.L. Beeston.²³⁾ The copy dated back to the second half of the 17th century (B 2501, ff.122).

Rhetoric

16. Risālah-i pīrūzī wa maqālah-i naurūzī ("Happy Treatise and Speech of Congratulation"). The author is Ḥamīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar al-Najātī al-Nīshābūrī; he also compiled the commentary ("Basāṭīn al-'ulamā") on "Tārīkh-i Yamīnī" by 'Utbī (died in 428/1036-37) and completed it in 721/1321. The author was also well-known as a poet who wrote under the pen-name Najātī. The treatise in question is devoted to the sons of the historian Rashīd al-Dīn: Ghiyāth al-Dīn (died in 1336), wazīr of Abū Sa'īd khān (died in 736/1335), and Sharaf al-Dīn. Consequently, it was composed between 1327, when Ghiyāth al-Dīn became a wazīr, and 1336, the year of his death. The treatise is a commentary on the well-known artificial qasīdah "Badā'ī' al-aṣḥār fī sanā'ī' al-

ash'ār" 24) by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muṭarrazī and contains, alongside the text of the qaṣīdah, the explanation of the obscurities and a fairly detailed commentary on 82 poetic figures (ṣan'at) the qaṣīdah contains. To exemplify the commentary numerous verses of thirty-two poems of the 10th to the 13th centuries as well as the poems of the author himself are cited. The copy was made no later than the 30's of the 15th century (B 574, ff. 67).

Fables and Tales

17. Jāmi' al-hikāyāt ("A Collection of Stories"). Judging by the palaeographic features, the copy belongs to the 14th century. The MS itself, as follows from its dedication to the Indian ruler of the Khiljī dynasty 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad I (695-715/1296-1316), was written late in the 13th or early in the 14th century; the name of Muḥammad Shāh ibn Tughluq shāh on f. 27b was inserted later. The author refers to himself several times (ff. 2b, 4a, 4b, 26b, 27a) without revealing his name, however. The MS is a collection of stories about some legendary and historical characters (Zahhāk, Būzurjmihr, Anūshīr-wān, Bahrām Gūr and others). The MS includes many animal stories. Mention should be made of a story (ff. 59b-85a) which sets down some scientific ideas of that

time, including geographic and astronomical concepts. The narrative is illustrated by two schematic drawings, one representing the seven climates and the other the firmament. The MS consists of seven chapters (bāb) bearing no numbers. Some stories of the collection stand in an obvious relation to "Marzubān-nāmāh" and parallel study of the text of the two works may lead to good results. This MS was kept in the Library of Subhān Qulī Khān, one of the Janid rulers (1091-1114/1680-1702 (see his seal with his name and the date 1108/1696-97). The first two and the last pages of the MS are missing, there are small lacunas in it. This MS once drew the attention of Carl Salemann and E.E. Bertels. Their notes can be found on the pages enclosed in the MS. In particular, Carl Salemann noted to whom this MS was dedicated (D 327, ff. 256).

18. Basāṭīn al-uns ("Gardens of Friendship").²⁶⁾ The author is Muḥammad Ṣadr 'Alā Aḥmad Ḥasan dabīr 'Abdūsī with the laqab Tāj known as Ikhtisān al-Hindī. The only copy of this work (composed in 725/1325) which is mentioned by Rieu is dated Ṣafar 1074/Sept.-Oct. 1663.

* Y.E. Borshchevsky doing scientific research at the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies regards the work as a version of "Marzubān-nāmāh".

Our copy was finished in Herat on 27 Dhū-l-qa'dah 836/15 July 1433; the copyist is Qawām ibn Muḥammad al-Mārandarānī (B 977, ff. 211).

Poetry

19. Dīwān-i Khāqānī ("Khāqānī's lyrical poems"). A collection of poetic works by Afzal al-Dīn Khāqānī (516-595/1122-1199). The present copy is one of the oldest known copies of the dīwān. According to the paleographic data, it dates back to the end of the 13th century. The dīwān was copied in Khwarezm (?) in the characteristic Persian naskh; both beginning and end are missing; there are lacunas (S 1424, ff. 199).

20. Dīwān-i Nizārī ("Nizārī's lyrical poems"). The author is Sa'd al-Dīn ibn Shams al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad Quhistānī who wrote under the pen-name of Nizārī (645-720/1247-1321).²⁷ This is one of the four extant copies. On ff. 82a-91b the copyist, probably by mistake, inserted the qit'āt by Ibn Yāmīn. On the margins of the MS there are excerpts from the dīwāns by Amīr Khusrāu (f. 1a) and Ḥasan Dihlawī (f. 57b). The copy belongs to the beginning of the 15th century, is fairly worn out, lacks the beginning and the end and has lacunas (A 972, ff. 131).

21. Dīwān-i 'Alī ("Alī's lyrical poems").²⁹⁾ The author is Khawājah 'Alī (died in 830/1427), a ṣūfī sheikh, the grandson of the sheikh Ṣafī al-Dīn of Ardebil. In "Silsilat al-nasab" there is a mention of a dīwān of this author. This is a very rare collection of his mystical poems. The copy is beautifully executed. The copyist is Muḥammad Raḥīm, the son of the muḥtasib of Ardebil; I073/1662-63 (B 190, ff.61)..

22. Dīwān-i Jāmī ("Jāmī's lyrical poems"). A collection of poetry by 'Abd al-Rahman Jāmī (817-898/1414-1492). A fine copy of the first dīwān made within the author's life-time and containing chiefly its second part. In content it is close to the copies listed in the catalogues of Ethé and Bankipore.³⁰⁾ The MS is elegantly illuminated; there are 'unwāns, headpieces as well as six miniatures executed later, early in the 18th century. The copy was made in rabī'-II 892/March-April 1487 by the calligrapher Na'īm al-Dīn al-Kātib ibn Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Mudhahhib (C 1697, ff.272).

23. Dīwān-i Khalīfah ("Khalīfah's lyrical poems").³¹⁾ The author did not mention his name; he wrote under the pen-name of Khalīfah.³²⁾ Evidently, he lived in the 16th or in the very beginning of the 17th century in Turkey (?) (cf. ff.115b and 116b with two chronograms containing the dates 956/1549 and 1003/1594-95;

the first one is the year of his son's birth). This is a good copy made at the end of the 17th or the beginning of the 18th century (B 218,ff.124). In the collection of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies there is another copy of the poet's dīwān almost identical in content with the first one and ascending to the same period (B 212,ff.124).

24. Dīwān-i Zīwarī ("Zīwarī's lyrical poems"). The author who wrote under this poetical surname did not mention his real name. According to the anthology "Safīnah",³³⁾ a certain poet Mullā Zīwarī served at the court of the Mogul Emperor Jahāngīr (1014-1037/1605-1627). On fol.90a of the present copy there is a rubā'ī-chronogram on the death of ṣadr mullā Ishāq, — 1038/1628-29. The beginning of the copy is missing; the copy was made in India 1 Jumādā-I 1123/6 June 1712 (B 2207,ff.103).

25. Dīwān-i Zāhid ("Zāhid's lyrical poems")³⁴⁾ The author is Mīrzā Qāsim ibn Mīrzā Muḥsin Tabrizī who wrote under the pen-name of Zāhid and was a contemporary of Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī (1027-c.1100/1617-c.1690). The latter mentions Zāhid's numerous merits in his well-known tadhkirah. At the time of the compilation of this anthology, the poet lived in Abbasabad, in the suburbs of Isfahan. The end of the copy is missing; the

copy was made in the beginning of the 18th century (B 221, ff. 62).

26. *Dīwān-i Kirām* ("Kirām's lyrical poems"). The author is Mullā 'Abd al-Laṭīf who wrote under the penname of Kirām and was a court poet of 'Abd al-'Azīz, the khan of Bukhara (1055-1091/1645-1680).³⁶ The copy contains only ghazals which the poet wrote in imitation of Ḥāfiẓ and Ṣā'ib. This is a Central Asian 19th century copy (C 2344, ff. 298). In the collection of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies there is a second copy of the *dīwān* almost identical to the first one. It is available in a composite MS (C 1693, ff. 44a-225b).

27. *Dīwān-i Jauharī* ("Jauharī's lyrical poems"). The author is sheikh Najīb al-Dīn (Muḥammad) Riḡā Tabrīzī who wrote under the pen-names of Zargar, Jauhari and Rāzī (cf. ff. 49b, 22a etc.). The biographic data pertaining to him, mentioned by the author of *Ātashkadah*³⁷ and by mīrẓā Naṣrābādī,³⁸ coincide on the whole, but differ in the rendering of his full name. The poet lived in the 17th century (cf. fol. 137a) and served at the court of Sulaimān I (1077-1105/1667-1694). (A 77, ff. 197).

28. *Dīwān-i Nādir* ("Nādir's lyrical poems"). At present the author cannot be identified with the well-known poets who wrote under the same penname. It may

be assumed that he was a Central Asian poet and lived at the turn of the 19th century (cf. colophon and fol. 84b). The copy was made in the emir's prison in Bukhara in 1266/1849-50 (C 1623, ff. 89).

29. *Dīwān-i Khurram* ("Khurram's lyrical poems"). The author does not mention his proper name but indicates in the introduction that he came from the village of Kurdasht of the region of Qarachadagh in Azerbaijan and wrote under the penname of *Khurram*. He was born in 1164/1750-51. His grandfather *Muhammad* was a Christian who later embraced Islam. His father's name was *Rustam* (fol. 123b). The *dīwān* of his poetry was compiled in 1236/1820-21 when the author was seventy-two years old (fol. 2b). The copy was made in the town of Shusha; the colophon gives wrong dates of copying: 1157/1744-45 in the Moslem calendar and 1742 in the Christian calendar. Evidently, the *dīwān* was copied in 1257/1841-42 (B 4270, ff. 124).

30. *Dīwān-i Nuṣrat* ("Nuṣrat's lyrical poems"). The author is *Mīrzā Naṣr Allāh Ardabīlī* who wrote under the pen-name of *Nuṣrat* (died 6 muḥarram 1271/29 September 1854). His biography is set down in detail by *Rizā Qulī-Khān*.³⁹⁾ The copy was made by *Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī Tabrizī* in Tehran in 1304/1886-87. (B 240, ff. 84).

31. Dīwān-i Shu'lah ("Shu'lah's lyrical poems").

The author who wrote under this pen-name did not reveal his identity. He lived probably in the second half of the 19th century (f. 50b, a ghazal with a chronogram 1292/1875). This seems to be an autograph. The MS is not finished. (B 4026, ff. 51).

32. Kanz al-asrār min afkār abkār ("The Treasure of Mysteries from the Meditations of the [People of] Pure Intentions"). The author, Yūsuf al-Qā'inī al-Khūsfarūdī, who wrote under the pen-name of Yūsuf lived in the 19th century. He was a poet of the Kuhistan region in Khorasan; his name, however, does not occur in the "Anthology of the Poets of Qā'ināt" compiled late in the 19th century. The dīwān has a well-pronounced ṣūfī character. The end of the dīwān contains the afterword of the copyist (?) explaining a number of ṣūfī terms occurring in the verses. This is a copy of the autograph of 1284/1867-68. The copyist is Muḥammad, the son (khalaf) of Muḥammad 'Alī Karbalā'ī. The copy was made at the end of Rabi'-II 1331/the beginning of April 1912. (C 1126, ff. 102).

33. Dīwān-i Mubārak ("Mubārak's lyrical poems").

The poet who wrote under this pen-name did not disclose his identity. He lived, evidently, in the second half of the 19th century (fol. 197b: the eulogy of amir 'Abd al-Aḥad of Bukhara - 1302-1328/1885-1910). The dīwān

was compiled after 1310/1892-93. The present Central Asian MS is an autograph (C 1559, ff.237).

34. Dīwān-i Zhulīdah ("Zhulīdah's lyrical poems"). The author is a little-known provincial darwīsh-poet Mīrzā 'Abd Allāh, who wrote under the pen-name of Zhulīdah and came from the village of Kanarah near Shiraz. The present MS is an autograph which was presented by the author to W.A.Ivanow in Kanarah in 1914 (A 83, ff.146).

35. Kulliyāt-i Sa'dī ("Complete Poetical Works of Sa'dī"). The author is Mushrif al-Dīn Sa'dī (580-690/1184-1291). The present copy belongs, no doubt, to the same version as the kulliyāt noted by Rieu⁴⁰) with which it is almost identical in content and composition, though it is more than a hundred years older. The present MS is a well-executed copy made by the calligrapher Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Umar al-Murshidī, probably, in Shiraz on 30 Muharram 829/12 December 1425. (A 31, ff. 397).

36. Kulliyāt-i 'Azīm ("Complete Poetical Works of 'Azīm"). The author is 'Azīm al-Dīn Muhammad al-Husainī al-Shīrāzī al-Shūshawī (?) (born c.1170/1753-54). He was a court poet of Mīr Fath 'Alī Khān, the ruler of Sind who seized power in 1783. The kulliyāt was compiled by the author himself in 1210/1795-96 (f. 131a) when he was more than forty years old. The copy was made in

India in the first half of the 19th century; the end is missing and the folios are misplaced. (A 40, ff. 264).

37. Kulliyāt-i Sharaf ("Complete Poetical Works of Sharaf"). The author, Sharaf Shūstari, wrote under the pen-name of Sharaf. He was born in Shustar, went to India where he suffered hardships and privations, and then probably returned back to Iran. The kulliyāt contains small and major poetical works, the latter occupying about half of the collection; some of them have titles and dates of completion, e.g. ff. 1b-19a: 'Ishq-i 'Azīz finished in 1239/1823-24; ff. 87a-106b: the poem Dhauqiyah finished in 1234/1818-19. The end is missing. Part of the MS is evidently an autograph. (D 6, ff. 309).

Calligraphy

38. Risālah dar usūl wa qawā'id-i khutūt-i sittah ("A Treatise on Principles and Rules of Six Characters").⁴¹ The author is Fath Allāh ibn Ahmad ibn Mahmūd. (The second half of the 14th — the beginning of the 15th century. Probably, he is also the author of Akhlāq-i zahīriyah, a treatise on ethics.) This is evidently a very rare work. The MS is a manual for students of calligraphy and is concerned with the rules

of writing in six classical characters (muḥaqqaq, thulth, raiḥān, tauqī', riqā', and naskh). In compiling it, as was indicated by the author himself, use was made of the treatises (rasā'il) of five renowned masters of these characters. The treatise was probably compiled early in the 15th century since the author mentions an increasing popularity of the character nasta'liq. The treatise consists of an introduction (fātiḥah), three chapters (bāb) and a conclusion (khātimah). The MS is an excellent copy made by the calligrapher Shams al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh in 995/1586-87. (B 551, ff. 50).

39. A treatise on calligraphy. The MS is a complete copy.⁴²⁾ The author, Majnūn ibn Kamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd Rafīqī was known as a poet who wrote under the poetical surname of Majnūn. According to Sām Mīrzā,⁴⁴⁾ the present treatise was dedicated to him, yet judging by our copy (fol. 5ab), it was dedicated to Tahmāsp I (930-984/1524-1576). The treatise was written soon after 930/1524, and thus it is the third treatise on calligraphy compiled by Majnūn. It is concerned with the recipes of ink, the tinting of paper, the choice of the qalam etc. The text of the treatise is preceded by a prosaic introduction occurring also in the copies of the treatise of Sulṭān 'Alī. The present MS is

fairly worn out, has notes on the margins and was made in Agra early in the 18th century. The copyist attributed the authorship to Mīr 'Alī (?) and in the colophon called the work Risālah-i khatt dar nazm ("A Poetic Treatise on Characters"). (A 733, ff. 1b-16a).

Ethics. Politics.

40. A composite MS which contains, either in full or in excerpts, works of a chiefly didactic nature; "Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ" by Aḥmad al-Dīn Kirmānī (died in 697/1298); "Kitāb al-mufīd li-l-mustafīd" by Afzal al-Dīn Kāshānī (died in 707/1307-08), "Kitāb-i mabda' wa mi'ād (āghāz wa anjām)" by Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī (died in 672/1274), "Rūḡhnā'ī-nāmah" by Nāṣir-i Khusrāu (died in 481/1088-89), "Makhzan al-asrār" by Nizāmī Ganjawī (died in 605/1209), "Asrār-nāmah" by Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (died in 589/1193), "Pand-nāmah-i Nūghirwān-i 'ādil" by Badā'i'ī Balkhī, "Sair al-'ibād ilā-l-mi'ād" by Sanā'i Ghaznawī (died in 525/1130-31), and fragments of the works by Nizāmī, Sa'dī (died in 691/1292), Sanā'i and Rūmī (died in 672/1273). All these works are known, but we have an old copy made in 708/1308 in the village of Bushar of the Khubriz region in Shiraz. The co-

pyist is Muḥammad ibn al-Farīḡ ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū-l-Muḥāsīn al-Ḥasani al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī al-Isfahānī. Copies of "Kitāb al-mufīd li-l-mustafīd" and "Pand-nāmah-i Nūshīrwān-i 'ādil" are very rare indeed. The former work was printed (Tehran, the Armaghān publishers, 1310/1931) from the only extant MS from Kitābkhānah-i saltānatī in Tehran.⁴⁵⁾ The latter was published by Schefer⁴⁶⁾ with a wrong name of the author (Sharīf), and the title (Rāḥat al-insān) as it stands in the MS of la Bibliothèque Nationale.⁴⁷⁾ The text of the work was also published by S. Nafīsī⁴⁸⁾ and a small part of it is to be found in "Majma' al-fuṣṣahā" by Riḏā Qulī Khān⁴⁹⁾ (C 1102, ff. 286).

41. Pand-nāmah-i bist-u-sah kungurah-i tāj-i Nūshīrwān ("A Book of Advice (written) on the Twenty-Three Rays of the Crown of Nūshīrwān"). The authorship has not been established. The MS is another, probably very rare version of Pand-nāmah-i Nūshīrwān-i 'ādil (see No 40) close to the prosaic one.⁵⁰⁾ Like the latter, divided into 23 hikmats, the present MS consists of 23 kungurahs. The MS is an excellent copy of the beginning of the 16th century. (A 82, ff. 22).

42. Risālah-i 'arḑ-i lashkar ("A Treatise on Military Inspection").⁵¹⁾ The author is Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn As'ad Dawānī (830-908/1429-1503). The work

is a rare and valuable source for studying Iran's social and political history in the second half of the 15th century.⁵²⁾ Our MS is the fourth extant copy and was noted by B.Dorn⁵³⁾ but it has not hitherto been treated by the specialists. The copy is incorporated in MS (C 692, ff. 61b-75b) made on 20 Dhū-l-hijjah 1084/28 March 1674 by sheikh 'Alī Fandaraskī.

43. Dastūr al-mulūk ("Rules for Sovereigns")⁵¹⁾

An ethicodidactic work. The author Khwājah Samandar Tirmidhī was a contemporary of the Janīd rulers 'Abd al-'Azīz (1056-1091/1645-1680) and Subhān Qulī (1091-1114/1680-1702). The work consists of 22 chapters, the 21 of which expound the rules of good government. This part of the work contains little original material. Of more interest is its last but one chapter (21st) describing the contemporary political events and social phenomena in Central Asia. This chapter comprising two-thirds of the entire work is a valuable source on the history of Central Asia in the second half of the 17th century. The copy was made in 1242/1826-1827 (C 450, ff. 128a-235b).

Philosophy

44. Tuhfah ("A Gift"). The authorship is ascribed to Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭusī (597-672/1200-1273). A small and

rather rare (the second extant copy)⁵⁴⁾ philosophical and eschatological treatise on the soul, its creation, cognition etc. The treatise shows signs of the influence of the ideas and views of Ismailism. The copy was mentioned by B.Dorn (see note 51); it is to be found in the composite MS (C 692, ff.87b-97a, and see also No.42).

Sufism

45. Hasanāt al-abrār min nasamāt al-muqarrabīn ("Good Deeds of the Righteous from Breath of the Admitted /to the Prophet/"). The author is sheikh Muhammad Murād ibn Ṭāhir Muftī Kashmīrī Naqshbandī (1056-1131/1646-1719).⁵⁵⁾ The work was completed on 20 Jumādā-I 1093/27 May 1682 and contains the life stories of the major Naqshbandī sheikhs, the author's attention concentrating on the Indian ṣūfīs of this Order namely Aḥmad Fārūqī Sirhindī (1563-1624), his sons, grandsons and their proxies (khalīfahs). The work is interesting as a source on the history of the activities of the Order in India. The work consists of chapters, varying in length, and paragraphs (ḥasanah). The MS is of an Indian origin and is probably an autograph; it was copied no later than 1114/1702 (fol.1a). (C 1529, ff.413).

Theology

46. Baṣā'ir fī-l-tafsīr ("Knowledge Concerning the Commentary on the Koran"). The author, Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Nīshābūrī,⁵⁶⁾ is a contemporary of Bahrām shāh Ghaznawī (511-552/1118-1157). This rare commentary on the Qur'ān was compiled in 552/1157-58 (the first part: sūrahs I-VI was finished in the middle of Jumādā-II 552/July 1157). This is one of the earliest commentaries in Persian. The MS is very old and probably is the autograph; the beginning and the end are missing and there are lacunas; it contains commentaries on sūrahs I-XXIII, XXXV LXII. The MS is written in a characteristic old Persian naskh. (C 1409, ff.282).

47. Evidently, a very rare translation of the well-known Arabic work "Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn" ("Admonishment for the Carefree")⁵⁷⁾ written by Abū-l-Laiṭh Naṣr ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Samarqandī (died c.375/985-986). The translator did not mention his name. The copy was made by Muḥammad Baqī Qunduzī on 23 Rabī'-I 1051/5 July 1641. (C 2371, ff.190).

48. Āyat al-Āyāt-i Furqānī ("A Verse from the Verses of the Sacred Book").⁵⁸⁾ The author, Aḥmad Mudawwin (ibn) Muḥammad al-Nīshāpūrī, was a contemporary and friend of 'Abd al-Raḥman Jāmī (817-898/1414-

1492). This rare work is the concordance of verses of the Qur'ān. Each verse can be found in the Qur'ān by the last letter of the second word. The work was begun in 885/1480-81 and finished in Herat early in Ramazān 891/September 1486. The MS consists of twenty-nine chapters (maqṣad) which are preceded by an introduction falling into three parts: a) the author's introduction in Arabic and Persian, b) Jāmī's opinion of the work offered and c) commentary by Husain Wa'iz Kāshifī on the author's introduction, clarifying the system of concordance. The MS is a fine copy executed for the library of 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān (1055-1091/1645-1680). The copy was made in Bukhara on 12 Sha'bān 1083/3 December 1672. The copyist is Mīr Muḥammad ibn 'Alā al-Dīn al-Darrī al-'Irāqī. (B 357, ff. 356).

49. Tarjumah-i kitāb-i tauḥīd-i Mufazzal. A translation of "The Book of Glorification of the Unity of God (as related) by Mufazzal".⁵⁹ This is a well-known theological work. The translator is Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī, a famous theologian of the 17th century. We have the translator's autograph. It is indicated in the introduction that the translation was dedicated to the Safavi shah Sulaimān I (1077-1105/1667-1694). The copy was finished in Rajab 1094/May-June 1683. (A 950, ff. 38a-74b).

In conclusion it will be noted that attention may be claimed not only by individual rare MSS from the Persian-Tajik collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences but also by certain collections of MSS. Among such, mention should be made, above all, of the manuscripts collected by W.A.Ivanow in Bukhara in 1915-1916. This is the largest Persian-Tajik collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. The collection consists mainly of Central-Asian MSS, most of them copies of the 18th, and 19th centuries. In collecting these MSS, emphasis was laid on securing the largest possible number of MSS without any serious preliminary selection. It goes without saying that this being the method of collecting, a vast number of MSS which were widely current in Central Asia at that time and were often of no special interest got into the collection alongside many valuable documents. Each of such MSS is hardly of any great significance, but taken as a whole they may become an important source of information. For it were these MSS which constituted the bulk of the literature current in Central Asia in the 18th and 19th centuries and even early in the 20th century. Consequently, a study of this literature

may provide the scholar with factual material necessary for the appraisal of the spiritual life and mental outlook of the broad sections of the literate population of Central Asia in the 18th and 19th centuries. The interest that such a study could offer cannot be overestimated, and the Bukhara collection of W.A. Ivanov holds out wide possibilities in this respect, provided that the studies treat the collection as a single whole.

Persian MSS of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences collected by the Archeographic Commission of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences in the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in 1934 are also of importance in the same sense for studying the intellectual values of certain strata of the Moslem population of the Volga regions in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Integrated studies of the collections mentioned above as well as of other similar collections have not yet begun, but there can hardly be any doubt that research along these lines can yield interesting and stimulating results.

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A. MUKHTAROV

**INSCRIPTIONS WITH BĀBUR'S NAME
IN THE UPPER
REACHES OF THE ZARAFSHAN**

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While fighting against nomadic Uzbek tribes, led by Sheibani Khan, which invaded Central Asia, the young Zahir ad-Din Babur (1483-1530), after a number of setbacks, for two odd years had to seek refuge in the mountains, mostly in the vicinity of the town of Ura-Tube (Uratippa) and in the upper reaches of the Zarafshan River. Babur's stay in the above areas is attested by a number of facts, for instance by a stone called "Babur's throne",¹⁾ by the name of one of the villages located on the territory of presentday Kirghizia²⁾ and by inscriptions on rocks and cliffs.

Describing in "Bābur Namé" his adventures in the mountains of the Turkestan Range, he tells about one of his inscriptions on a rock near the village of Obbur-dan (Ab-burden) in the hill-country of Matcha (Masikha). Babur writes that when in the spring there came the news that Sheibani-Khān was advancing against Urā-Tubé, Bābur's troops set out for the Macha (Masikha) Mountains. "Ab-Burden is a village which lies at the foot of Masikha, Beneath Ab-burden is a spring, and close to the spring is a tomb. From the spring, towards the upland, the country belongs to Maskiha, but downwards from the spring it depends on Yelghar. At the side of the springhead I caused a rock to be shaped (qatirib) and these three distichs inscribed on it:

I have heard that the exalted Jemshid
Inscribed on a stone beside a fountain,
Many a man like us has rested by this fountain
And disappeared in the twinkling of an eye.
Should we conquer the whole world by our
manhood and strength,
Yet could we not carry it with us to the grave"³⁾

These words of Bābur struck me as interesting and
I entered into correspondence with Matcha residents
and thus learned that in the Ab-burden village and its
environs there existed numerous rock inscriptions. Having
received this information, I went in the spring of 1953
to Obburdan and there, with the assistance of old men
from among local residents, discovered many inscrip-
tions on rocks and cliffs.

At a spring called "Azukhāk", about 300 meters South-
West of the Ab-burden mazār, on the left = hand side of a
road between Falghar and Matcha I found an inscribed stone.
Habibov Gaday-Bai, an old inhabitant of Ab-burden, told me that
originally the rock lay not at the Azukhak spring, but south
of it at a spring called Shorokh. About 12 or 13 years ago col-
lective farmers (including himself) were clearing the Shorokh
spring. At a depth of one meter they discovered the rock with
the inscription. For safety's sake Gaday-Bai moved it to
Azukhak.

From the Diary of the Iskanderkul Expedition compiled in 1870 by Mullā Abdu-r-Rahmān, under the direction of A.L.Kun, we learned about other Babur inscriptions as well. The manuscript Diary cites inscriptions found by the expedition on rocks, way-side stones, walls of houses, mosques and fortresses as well as epitaphs in graveyards. The vast store of material collected by the expedition included some inscriptions with Babur's name. The side work of the Iskanderkul Expedition of 1870 represented the first attempt to collect inscriptions on rocks, cliffs and walls of buildings in the upper reaches of the Zarafshān river. However the material collected by the expeditions has not been studied to this day.

In the decade between 1920 and 1930 Professor M.S.Andreev collected rock inscriptions along with other ethnographical materials. His records have also have not been published as yet. Some accidentally discovered inscriptions were studied also by N.G.Mallitsky, Prof.M.E.Masson, and A.Y.Yakubovsky, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

In the summer of 1959, the Sector of Medieval History at the Institute of History of the Tadjik Academy of Sciences has sent out a special group to collect legal deeds and inscriptions on rocks and cliffs in the upper reaches of Zarafshān. It has found both some of the

inscriptions mentioned in the Diary and others not known earlier. Among them were inscriptions where Bābur's name was mentioned. We were able to collate them with texts of the inscriptions given in the Diary, and to read them more accurately.

Thus we have the Ab-burden stone²⁾ with Babur's inscription, discovered in 1953, Bābur inscriptions discovered in 1870 by the Iskander Kul Expedition and the inscriptions with Bābur's name found in 1959.

On the Ab-burden stone the verses are in Tādjik language in the nastaliq script. To the right of the verses are the words -- "written by Bābur" (in Arabic) and the date - 917 A.H. (1511-1512).

The verses cited above were written not by Babur but by the great Sa'di (1184-1192). From "Babur-Namé" it is clearly evident that Bābur had only caused them to be inscribed on the stone. By mistake in the Russian translations of Bābur Namé published in 1948, and in 1958 the authorship of these verses is ascribed to Babur himself. The date of the stone-inscription (917 A.H.) does not coincide with that given by Bābur in his "Memoires". Consequently the question arises when was this inscription actually made.

Pursued by Sheibani-Khān, Bābur, in 907 A.H. at the head of a small party of followers several times crossed the Turkestan Ridge from Ura-Tubé area into Matcha. Babur himself says that the inscription on the rock was incised

during one of such crossings into Matcha in 907 A.H. In our view this discrepancy in the dates may be explained thus.

The assassination of Sheibani-Khān revived Bābur's hopes for recapturing Samarkand. Having received aid from Shah Ismail he advanced, as we know, into Transaxonia by the same route he had taken the first time -- i.e. via Hisar. It is quite probable that Bābur went from Hisar to Matcha and then to Ura-Tubé, firstly because this road was the nearest and most familiar one, and secondly because his enemies did not expect him to attack from this mountain terrain. At the end of 1512 Bābur seized Samarkand only to lose it in 1513 for the third and last time. In our opinion Bābur's inscription was, most probably, cut on the Ab-burden stone at this period and not at 907 A.H. as Babur states. If the right date is 917 A.H. we may surmise that Bābur's mistake in his "Memoires" was due to the fact, that this event was written down many years later, in far-away India. While it is hardly probable that he kept a diary of all the events of his turbulent life.

After the discovery of other Bābur inscriptions it became clear that he caused not one but several inscriptions to be cut on rocks and cliffs and did not remember all of them. Bābur's inscriptions in the upper reaches of the Zarafshān date to various years of his stay in these regions, i.e. also to 907 A.H. after he had abandoned Samarkand for the second time and to 917 A.H. when he attempted

to seize Samarkand for the third, and last, time.

Beside Babur's Ab-burden inscription date 917 A.H. the text of which was published in 1954, the diary of the Iskander Kul Expedition as we have already mentioned, refers to several more inscriptions on rocks and cliffs, associated with the name of Bābur. All of them occur in a territory of not more than 5 or 6 square kilometres in the vicinity of villages situated at the border of Matcha and Falghar (Yelghar). According to the Diary there was the following dated inscription on a cliff between the villages of Vishab and Shamtich:

فی ایام سلطنت بابرخان خلدالله ملکہ سنہ ۹۰۷

i.e. "In the days of the reign of Bābur Khān, may Allāh perpetuate his reign. The year 907". Another inscription is incised on a stone at one of the cemeteries of the Shamtich village:

کافر مردم شکارا بکرمان آهستند تر
کاهوی بجاره را با تیر و پیکان کار نیست
کنند میرم بابرخان خلدالله ملکہ و سلطان

i.e. "Oh, infidel, hunting men, (be) more careful for a time, for what has the poor gazelle to do with an arrow point?" Written by my Mir Babur Khan, may Allāh perpetuate his reign and power".

Many of the inscriptions mentioned in the 1870 Diary are gone for ever by reason of the great changes that

occurred in these regions in the 90 years which elapsed since the expedition. In particular, during the construction of a motor road many cliffs, including some bearing inscriptions, were blown-up, and old mountain paths, along which these inscriptions were mostly found, disappeared under the debris.

It is for this reason, perhaps, that the group of workers of the History Institute of the Tadjik Academy of Sciences failed to find the first of the two Babur's inscriptions quoted above which according to the "Diary" was found on the territory between the villages of Vishab and Shamtich.

Several cemeteries are located on the territory of Shamtich village. At one of these we discovered several tomb-stones with epitaphs dating to the XV and XVI centuries. Another cemetery is situated at the western fringe of Shamtich. Right next to it, on the bank of the Zarafshan lies a big red sandstone more than 2 metres high and more than 60 meters broad. On this sandstone was found another Babur inscription. In comparing this text with the one cited by the "Diary" certain discrepancies are noted. On the red sand stone we read:

فی ایام سلطنت سلطان بابر خلد ملک

i.e. "In the days of the reign of Babur, may (Allah) perpetuate his reign", and just a little (11 or 12 inches) below this inscription cut by the same hand stand the words:

کافرا مردم شکارا بک زمان آهست تر
کاهوی بیچاره را با تیر ترکان ناب نیست
کینه میتم شنید

"Oh, infidel, hunting men, be more careful for a time,
not to give pain to a poor gazelle by an arrow of a Turk".

A miserable mir I am (or my mir) y.h.907".

It will be seen from a comparison of the first two inscriptions reproduced here that Bābur's title - "khān" - is absent and is replaced by "Sūltān" (a part of the last letter is omitted), also absent are the God's name - "Allāh" and the date "907". The lower inscription also differs from the text of the "Diary". These discrepancies may be seen in the text of the verses of the second stanza, in Bābur's signature, and in the date of the inscription.

On our reproduction the inscription made by the carver, can be read as "Kamīna Miram", i.e., "I miserable mir I am (or "my mir", if written in the second person), while in the "Diary" we have a very long inscription "Written by my mir Bābur shāh, may Allāh perpetuate his reign and power". These lines are not dated in the "Diary". We have dated them 907 A.H.

A collation of the two inscriptions reveals that the inscription cited in the "Diary" does not correspond to the one we have found on the red sandstone. The author of the "Diary" could not have made such a crude mistake

as to add to the text words absent on the stone, a whole sentence and date, or deliberately omit them.

We have noted that Bābur had changed the meaning of the second line of the verses. Instead of "heeds not the arrow point", we read "has no strength for the point of the Turk's arrow". Evidently Bābur had in view his own self, his hopeless situation, his enemies. In the mountains he identified himself with a "wild she-goat", and regarded Sheibani-khan's Uzbeks as Turks, to fight whom he had no strength".

Bābur, apparently, caused the same texts to be inscribed several times. Evidently he, like the highlanders, saw in these inscriptions something symbolical, cryptical and sacred and hoped that they would be propitious to his ventures. Possibly it was because of that that he repeatedly incised on the rocks his invocations to Allāh.

One thing is certain, namely that, both the inscriptions discovered in 1959 by the group of workers sent by the Institute of History of the Tādjik Academy of Sciences are written by one hand namely by Babur.

It seems that two more inscriptions mentioned in the Diary are associated with Bābur. One of these has been found between the above mentioned Vishab and Shamtich villages and the other between the villages of Shamtich

and Ab-burden. The first inscription reads:

دلہ معاش چنان کن کہ گر یلغز دمای
فرشتہ ات بد و دست دعا نگہ دارد
رقم الفقیر میرم سنہ ۹۰۷

i.e. "Oh, heart, live so that should (your) foot slip
Your (guardian) angel could save (you) with (his)
two blessed hands.

Inscription by poor Miram. Date 907.A.H."

The other inscription reads:

بہج یار مدد خاطر و بہج دیا
گرفت ہزار بدیع الجمال پیشاید
کہ تو بحر فراخ ست و آدمی بسیار
بین و بگذر خاطر و بہج کس بسیار
کینہ میرم

"Set not thy heart exclusively on any land or friend
For lands and seas are countless, and sweethearts
without end, and if a thousand beautiful girls come to
thee,

Look and pass on, but give thy heart to no one.

Humble Miram".

Our reasons for ascribing the last two inscription
to Bābur are these firstly; these writings on the rock
were found almost in the same locality as the other Bābur
inscriptions, and secondly the signature under each

inscription contains the word "Miram" (or "My Mir"). In no other inscription do we find this word. It is well known that in Matcha, and in some other highland areas of Central Asia rulers are called "Mir". It is against Tadjik usage to attach to the word "Mir" the name of the ruler himself such as "Mir Bābur Khān". Most often the word "Mir" is followed by the name of some region and only after that comes the name of its ruler, like: "Mir-i-Mastchok Ahmad Beg", etc. It is for this reason, perhaps, that when the inscription is signed by "Miram" Bābur's name is not added.

We consider that the last two inscriptions belong to Bābur also because the date on one of those (907 A.H.) coincides with the date of another Bābur's inscription and with Bābur's stay in Matcha. Moreover, the two verses in the inscriptions were quoted from Hafiz and Sa'di respectively and their contents reflect Bābur's frame of mind at that time.

Having lost his hereditary possessions, Bābur found himself in a grave plight and was wandering through the mountain wilderness, sometimes without supplies and provisions. Many of his former friends abandoned him and he hardly expected aid or support from anyone. His followers abandoned him one after another. All Bābur's attempts to seize power were defeated. His hopes sank and he was in a downcast mood. He wrote thus about the event of 907: "While I remained in Tāshkent at this time, I endu-

red great distress and misery. I had no country, nor hopes of a country".⁵⁾ For this reason Bābur chose from the works of great poets fragments of a pessimistic content. He reflected that it was futile to regard anyone as a friend or any country as his own.

Bābur chose for the inscription on the rock a text from Sa'di's Persian panegyric to Shams ad-Din Muḥammad Juwayni. It is noteworthy that from this ode Babur selected the first and seventh bayts which he found very much alike in content.

As a result of the work done by the group sent by the History Institute of the Tādjik Academy of Sciences in 1959, another inscription with Bābur's name was discovered. The enormous stone with this inscription lies at the entrance to a farmstead in the Shawatki Pāyān village in the upper course of the Zerafshān River about 25 kilometres before Abburden. The inscription is in a poor state of preservation and is rather illegible.

On this stone is written a bayt dedicated to the memory of some unknown deceased. The inscription was incised by one Muḥammad Amin bin mullā Rashid. Under the inscription figures are seen which apparently stand for 1208 A.H. (1793). On the right hand side of these figures we read "Bābur shā(h)". The fact that Bābur's name is found alongside of an inscription dating to a much later, period indica-

tes that the local population preserved memories, traditions and legends of Bābur. That "Bābur shā" refers to the Bābur of the Timurid dynasty and not to some other Bābur is incontestable. It is supported by local tradition, and furthermore, among the rulers of Matcha and Falghar we know not a single historical person with this name and title.

The question arises -- who had cut the inscriptions on the rocks -- Bābur himself or other persons at his command? It seems to us that Bābur himself had made them. This is supported by the following considerations: as we noted earlier, before his signature on the Ab-burden rock Bābur had incised in Arabic. The words "written by" stressing that he himself and not somebody else wrote it.

It will be seen from the reproductions that the script on all stones with Bābur's name is very much alike, lacks beauty and is mediocre if written by a self-taught man. The small differences should be ascribed to the composition of stone material. The Ab-burden rock is harder and was more difficult to cut. The stone of the Shamtich village is very soft and lends itself more easily to writing.

Coming to the hills Bābur learned the customs of the highlanders and decided to leave a memory of his stay in those parts. Apparently, he had time enough for that.

The fact, that the upper reaches of the Zarafshān ri-

ver were still under the Timurid rulers while Sheibani Khān was engaged in more important operations elsewhere was probably one of the reasons Bābur fled to these mountains. Here Bābur was safe and had time, among other things to cut his inscriptions upon stones.

Had the inscriptions been incised by some other men at Bābur's orders, he would have assigned to this task not self-taught men but master-calligraphers, Judging by other inscriptions found here there were many such masters in those regions.

As a rule stone-carvers incised texts prepared for them in advance. In such cases the carvers are not responsible for the errors made. This does not apply to the inscriptions made by Bābur. He did not write after a text prepared in advance, but from memory. Otherwise the errors found in his texts would not occur.

Writing on the rocks, Babur chose texts from the works of Hafiz, Saadi and other poets because at that time he was only 17 or 18 years of age and had not mastered yet the art of versification. Bābur tells that only on his return from Matcha to Tāshkent he composed his first rubāi but he had some doubts regarding a rhyme he had used in it, since at that time he "had not studied with much attention the style and phraseology of poetry".⁶⁾ The inscriptions on the rocks show that in his youth Bābur knew well the works of the great poets and sought to learn from them.

Thus, in the upper reaches of the Zarafshān there are several inscriptions of Bābur dating to various periods of his stay there. From these inscriptions we find out various titles of Babur -- "Sultān Bābur", "Bābur-Khān", "Babur-Shah" and "Mir". The two last titles indicate that Babur was no mere wanderer in these parts but a representative of the last of the Timurid dynasty in Transoxania.

It is possible that further discovery of new Babur inscriptions or of the inscriptions mentioned in the Diary will furnish additional interesting data about the time of Babur's stay in Northern Tādjikistān.

- 1) The 1927 expedition to Yaghnob, led by M.S.Andreev.
Bulletin of the SAGU, v.17, Tashkent, 1928, pp.162-168.
- 2) A.Mukhtarov. Inscription of Sultān Zahir ad-din
Bābur (1483-1530). Bulletin of the Department of
Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the
Tājik Republic, 1954, No 5, p.IIO.
- 3) Memoirs of Zahir-ed-Din Muhammed Bābur. Oxford U.P.,
1921, vol.I, p.162.
- 4) Verse by Hafiz. The second word in the first line
is misquoted in the "Diary" (مباحش)
instead of معاش)
See volume of Hafiz verses. Lucknow, 1893, p.174.
- 5) Bābur-Name, p.167.
- 6) Bābur-Name, p.164.

Зак.196

Тир.350 экз.

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XXV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

PAPERS PRESENTED BY THE USSR DELEGATION

M. I. BIKZHANOVA

**FAMILY LIFE ON COLLECTIVE FARMS
IN MODERN UZBEKISTAN**

**(According to data collected in the Namangan
District of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist
Republic)**

ORIENTAL LITERATURE PUBLISHING HOUSE

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The history of the family is the history of the development of a definite pattern of family relations and its substitution by a new pattern, brought to life to meet the requirements of a definite social-economic structure.

The period of socialist construction in Uzbekistan saw many changes in the family life of the Uzbeks.

The predominant type of an Uzbek family before the Great October Socialist Revolution was a big undivided unit with many features common to all large patriarchal families. As a result of the disintegration of the large patriarchal family a survival variant of the undivided family had been formed in Uzbekistan by the second half of the 19th century. The number of persons making up such a unit became smaller. A family comprising married couples of only two generations was characteristic of the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the elder generation in such families being represented in the majority of cases by one married couple- the father and the mother, their married sons living together with them. However, separation of the sons was not a rare phenomenon in the second half of the 19th century.

It is worthy of note that the disintegration of the undivided family went on faster in the regions

marked by an intensive development of capitalism, while the same process was ever so much slower in districts where natural economy displayed greater tenacity and feudal relations were predominant in the social structure; but even there at the turn of the 20th century the undivided family was affected by the disintegration in result of which the sons were shared out and separated in the lifetime of their fathers.

Alongside with large families we find separated small-size ones in the rural population of the economically backward districts. The family consisted of husband, wife and their children, who had not yet come of age. Separated small-size families prevailed among the poor villagers with less stable patriarchal principles of family relations (the necessity to take up permanent or seasonal employment as labourers or artisans either in the neighbouring villages or the towns was greatly responsible for it). All these types of families were men-dominated units which constituted their characteristic feature. The woman enjoyed no rights and her status was much humbler compared with that of the man. The authority of the head of the family was absolute; the authority of the seniors was unquestionable, the junior members of the family always found themselves in a subordinate position. The destiny of the children was in the hands

of the father. The boys were married off at the age of 15-16, while 13-14 year old girls were considered marriageable. It was customary to pay the "kalym" (bride-money).

Prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution monogamy and polygamy, common to all Moslems, were the usual forms of marriage among the Uzbeks. Polygamy, legitimated by Islam, was usual mostly among the privileged feudal bays - the upper layer of society (bay-rich land owner or trader).

Soviet legislation made no exceptions for the Moslem-populated regions of the country pronouncing monogamy as the only legitimate form of conjugal relations. Polygamy is an offence against the Soviet law. Under socialism a large patriarchal family is a vestige of the past. Undivided families of the old type, which had survived up to the first years of the Soviet regime mainly among the bays, lost their material foundation and disintegrated in the course of socialist construction and the formation and development of socialist relations.

The new relations came into being only gradually. The breaking up of the old family with its pattern of family relations began first among the poor villagers, the labourers. The old canons had displayed signs of deterioration among these strata of society even before

the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, while among the well-to-do these canons were more stable. The first to fight for new family relations were the members of the Communist party and of the Young Communist League, advanced sections of the Uzbek peasantry as well as the new Soviet national intelligentsia which, small as it was then, was already emerging.

Socialist changes in economy, Soviet legislation concerning family and marriage, the rights of women, the actual emancipation of women and their involvement into the sphere of social production and political life - all these factors affected greatly the outlook, the psychology and the views upon the private and family life of the working peasantry.

The Constitution of the Turkestan Autonomous Socialist Republic adopted in October 1918 at the VI Congress of the Soviets granted equal rights to man and woman alike.

Special women's sections attached to local committees played an immense role in bringing about the emancipation of the Uzbek woman. They were most active in drawing women into schools, social activities, in enlisting them into various types of productive work.

'Kalym' (bride-money) was prohibited by a special decree

of July 14th, 1921. According to another decree no man under 18, and no woman under 16 could marry. These regulations were revised in 1938 and 18 years was established as the marriageable age both for men and women alike. A decree published in 1917 instituted the freedom of divorce, the marriage being announced dissolved by local courts at the request of either or both parties concerned. The decree was welcomed by all those who had been married against their will and who felt their marriage to be very much of a burden.

The so-called family circles (oilāvi tugorok) played a most important part in strengthening the new status of women, in the cultural development and the formation of the new friendly relations among the sexes and the formation of a new mode of family life. These circles came into being spontaneously and were most instrumental in freeing the woman from the seclusion and isolation of her old life, they made it possible to raise the cultural level of the women, to introduce them into the company of men and make them feel equal. The families of Communists and of the members of the Young Communist League, party functionaries and officials of various administrative institutions were the first to make up the circles. At a later stage they were joined by progressively-minded politically and culturally

advanced Uzbek peasants and members of farming cooperatives. These family circles were purely voluntary affairs. They held their meetings in the members's homes on a rotation principle. Each member was to come accompanied by his wife, and, if he were single, by his mother or sister. Lectures on various economic and political problems, the women's problem, were read and discussed; weddings, birth-day parties etc. were celebrated by the members. In spite of a relatively

small membership of the circles at the time, their activities helped to break up the old way of life, the bay-feudal attitude towards women and the formation of a new pattern of life, new relations between the sexes.

Special agricultural and artisan cooperatives with membership restricted to women only were set up in large villages and district centres.

The basic change in the position of the women in the Uzbek village was brought about, however, by the organisation of collective farms. The collective farm system drew the women into agricultural production, ensured economic independence, created the material prerequisites for their equal status in society and the family. Some of the Uzbek women became tractor drivers, machanics. Kumryhon Yakubayeva, born in the Ikiran village near Neman-gan was one of the first to learn to drive a tractor. Imhon

Dedabayeva of the Uichinsky district was the first woman tractor driver of the locality. Imhon Dedabayeva joined the ranks of the party. Now she is an old age pensioner. Courses to train mechanics in handling agricultural machinery were opened in Chust and Chartak in the thirties. 28 women completed their course of training in Chartak in 1939.

Special women working teams were organised on the collective farms as soon as the latter were created. At the present time women are employed in all branches of agriculture and especially in cotton raising and silk-worm breeding. We often find women in the key positions on Uzbek collective farms (field-team leaders, field-brigade leaders, collective farm leaders etc.). Many women have been honoured by high governmental awards. We find among them Heroines of Socialist-Labour: Shahzoda Mirzahodjaeva - field-brigade leader of V.I. Lenin collective farm in the Namangan District of the Namangan Region; Tohta Abdulaeva - field-brigade leader of a collective farm named after N.S. Khrushchev in the Ordzhonikidze District of the Tashkent Region; Tursun

Ahunova - mechanic of a cotton harvester of the S.M. Kirov collective farm in the Chinaz District of the Tashkent Region and many others. Great is the part played by women in the cultural activities on the collective farms. They

fill in staff positions as school teachers, nurses at collective farm nurseries and kindergartens; many women work in libraries and clubs. Among the rural intelligentsia we find women doctors and lawyers.

The new status of the Uzbek woman in society has changed her position in the family. The equality of all adult members is the corner stone of a modern collective farm family, whose members are bound together by mutual material and moral support, common work on the collective farm and friendly relations and respect for each other. The most prominent feature of modern family is the new status enjoyed by the women and especially by the wife. Her active participation in the productive and social activities of the collective farm, equal rights for equal work have brought about the equal standing she enjoys in the family. The contribution of the wife to the family budget is considerable, so it is only natural that the wife, who had been utterly dependant upon her husband for means of subsistence, is now the mistress of the house, has a weighty say in the discussion of all the family matters. With mutual attraction and love being the motivating forces behind marriage, friendly, affectionate relations, inconceivable in the past, come to the fore in the new family.

At present very often it is the wife and not the husband who holds the strings of the family purse, (the opposite being usual in the past). There are many

families in which that is the case. Thus in the family of Sh.Tadjibayev, field- brigade leader of the collective farm named after A.A.Zhdanov (Uichinsky District) all the earnings are placed by the husband in the hands of his wife to be disposed of as she sees fit. This has become a tradition with the family since the days of the last war - Sh.Tadjibayev joined the army and his wife Mastanhon, working as the team-leader in a field brigade, supported a big family (the children, the relatives by marriage and kept house at the same time).

It is now usual for the husband to help the wife with the household work which were the sole responsibility of the woman in the past (cooking meals, for example because the man very well realises that his wife is quite busy on the farm).

The vestiges of the past - the bay-feudal attitude towards women, antiquated customs and prejudices did not die away on their own and had to be fought with in daily life through cultural and educational activities. The changes in family relations accounted for a new attitude towards marriage customs. "Kalym" (bride-money) has been done away with. However valuable presents to the bride and her relatives, a survival of the bride-money custom, in some families are still looked upon as basic conditions for granting assent to the marriage.

Marriages are registered at the local Soviets, the presence of the groom and the bride being obligatory. But many people, along with the civic marriage registration still perform the "nikokh" - the Moslem marriage ceremony. The most characteristic feature of a modern wedding party is that the guests - men and women alike take their seats at the same table with the newlyweds. - When a married man is invited to attend a wedding party he is asked to come accompanied by his wife and vice versa. The wedding entertainments include music, dances and singing.

While marriage registration has become universal among the rural population, the divorce proceedings prescribed by the Soviet law are not always complied with. The old Moslem way for obtaining a divorce still holds good with some of the collective farmers. The divorce formula either uttered or presented in writing by the husband is looked upon by some collective farmers as the only thing necessary to proclaim a marriage null and void. The despotic domination of the mother-in-law over her son's wife (which ever so often explained the enmity between them), a characteristic feature of the old prerevolutionary family, is now rapidly becoming a thing of the past by reason of the economic position of the daughter-in-law in the new family.

The appearance of mixed marriage - undoubtedly a progressive phenomenon - goes to show how national limitations and religious prejudices yield to the new trends. Prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution mixed marriage were tolerated only among the "faithful" i.e. those who professed Islam. Thus on the collective farm named after Stalin (the Ghertak District of the Namangan Region marriages take place between Russians and Uzbeks. A few families were formed in which one of the parties is gypsy who has been living in the village for a long time.

Philoprogenitiveness is a characteristic feature of an Uzbek family. High living standards of the collective farmers, state aid to mothers having many children, various medical and educational institutions and amenities on the collective farms facilitate the raising of the children in each family. Nurseries and kindergartens are not only important as educational institutions - they allow the mothers to follow their social activities.

Free obligatory 8-year education has become the law of the land in the Soviet Union. As a rule each collec-

tive farm in Uzbekistan can boast a school-building which would meet high modern standards. The vast majority of the teaching staff are graduates of special teacher's colleges and are, as a rule, natives of the village they teach in. Co-education has been introduced in all schools. The Soviet school plays a most important role in the formation of a new Socialist culture and a new way of life of the collective farm family. The school-children bring home new habits and new cultural interests. New ways of treating a child appear in the family. Birthday parties are one of the novelties (true enough this custom has not yet taken root among the majority of the population). It appears that circumcision is the most tenacious of the old habits and often is an occasion for a family celebration. Respect for the elders makes the younger parents observe the custom though they do not profess any religious beliefs.

The cultural level of the Uzbek family has risen beyond comparison. The majority of the younger generation have been through a ten or eight year middle school. Teachers, agronomists, doctors, irrigation experts, veterinary surgeons, electricians are university or college graduates. Some peasants in the Uzbek Republic came to be research workers and scientists.

High incomes make it possible for the collective

farmers to build or buy from the collective farms at most favourable prices comfortable houses of several rooms. Most of them have windows overlooking the street which was absolutely ruled out in the prerevolutionary days. Old houses are being rebuilt to meet modern standards. Electricity and radio have come to be part of every day life in the Uzbek village. There are houses having modern furniture, the walls are decorated with pictures, photos, paintings. Carpets, magnificent handmade embroideries reflect the tendency to preserve national traditions in interior decoration.

High living standards brought change in the dress of the collective farmers. Expensive textiles (usually silk but also wool and velvet) prevail here. The national dress of the old type is usually worn by the older people. The middle aged and especially the young prefer a combination of the old the new. The dresses of the young women are of a very wide cut and gathered at the chest; some of the younger girls was very much frowned upon. The paranja and the chachvan are worn only very seldom.

The number of bicycles and motor-bikes bought by the collective farmers is highly indicative of their standard of living. Some collective farmers are possessors of motorcars. Libraries, clubs, houses of culture cater to the cultural needs of the population. Collec-

tive farmers subscribe to newspapers, magazines, frequent book shops to buy books on agriculture etc. The young people go in for various home talent activities arranged by local clubs and schools through choirs, amateur theatricals, literary circles etc. Sport is one of the favourite pastimes too.

Public health institutions are an indispensable part of modern life in Uzbekistan and medicine has taken deep roots in the life of the collective farmers.

A small separated family consisting of husband, wife, their young children (and sometimes of relatives by marriage is the typical family pattern among the collective farmers in modern Uzbekistan. The undivided family, the foundation of which is the desire of the married sons to live together with their parents, still persists along with the separated family mentioned above.

The separation process and the formation of small separated families is assuming mass proportions. It

is stimulated by the desire to overcome the vestiges of the patriarchal past, still pronounced in the undivided families (limitations to a certain extent of the personal freedom of a family member by the overwhelming authority of the elder members, certain infringements upon the rights of the women and the young, the leveling off and equalisation in the distribution of income. The changes in family life and in the relations between husband and wife are moulded in the process of constant struggle of the new, progressive trends against the old, antiquated tendencies. This process is an integral part of a wider process comprising the general development and consolidation of a new Socialist society in Uzbekistan.

Зак.237

Тир.350

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XXV. INTERNATIONALER ORIENTALISTEN-KONGRESS

VORTRÄGE DER DELEGATION DER UdSSR

I. DUNAJEVSKAJA,

**ZUR KLÄRUNG DER PRÄFIXE
IM HATTISCHEN**

**VERLAG FÜR ORIENTALISCHE LITERATUR
Moskau 1960**

Die Deutung des Hattischen (Protohattischen) ist nach wie vor auf die wenigen zweisprachigen hattisch-nesitischen Texte aus Boghazköi angewiesen.¹⁾

Den grundlegenden Arbeiten von E. FORRER [SPAW, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 53, (1919); ZDMG 1, 2 (76), (1922)], J. FRIEDRICH [Hethitisch u. 'Kleinasiatische' Sprachen, Lpz. 1931; Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler, Berl. 1932; ZDMG 13 (88) (1934); Rez. KUB XXVIII in AFO, 11, 1-2 (1936); RHA 1947-1948; JKF 2, 2 (1952); Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg 1952, p. 316-319; Entzifferung verschollener Schriften u. Sprachen, Heidelberg 1954], E. LAROCHE [RA 41, 1-4 (1947); JCS 1, 3 (1947); Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites... Paris 1947; JKF 1, 2 (1950); Recueil d'onomastique hittite, Paris 1951], A. KAMMENHUBER [ZA 17 (51) (1955)] und anderen Untersuchungen der Bilinguen verdanken wir die Deutung von rund 150 hattischen Wörtern (cf. FRIEDRICH, HW S. 316-319), darunter etwa 30 Verben. Es wurden ferner auch einige grammatischen Elemente erarbeitet. Die Ermittlung des Hattischen stützt sich natürlicherweise auf die nesitischen Parallelen der Bilinguen. Für die Klärung des Wortschatzes ist diese Methode fruchtbar. Doch ist sie m.E. nicht geeignet die grammatischen Eigentümlichkeiten des Hattischen, und vor allem

dessen verbalen Formen zu erfassen. Hier ist eine sichere, unvoreingenommene Methode geboten, die eine Einschleusung der indoeuropäischen Charakterzüge des Nesitischen ins Hattische verhindern soll.

Bekanntlich enthalten hattische Verbalformen sowohl präfixale als auch suffixale Teile. Der präfixale Teil besteht aus einem oder aus mehreren Präfixen. Der suffixale Teil ist z.Z. weniger durchsichtig. Anscheinend kann er aus einem oder zwei, seltener aus mehreren Suffixen bestehen.

In den hattischen Verbalformen der Bilinguen sind meistens Präfixe belegt; dagegen vermissen wir dort oft die Suffixe, übrigens ist auch deren Bedeutung völlig unbekannt. Aus der Sichtung der hattischen Verbalpräfixe geht hervor, daß diese in einem mehr oder weniger konsequenten Verhältnis zum Wortstamm und zueinander stehen. Hier scheint eine gewisse Regelmäßigkeit sich auszuwirken, die eine Einteilung der Präfixe gestattet.

Wie ist nun diese Sichtung zustande gekommen? Darüber möchte ich etwas näher berichten. Zuerst suchte ich die bereits erarbeiteten hattischen Verbalformen aus den Bilinguen zu prüfen, danach habe ich es - und hier kann man nie vorsichtig genug vorgehen - einige ähnliche Formen, die sich mir aus den

einsprachigen Quellen boten, heranzuziehen gewagt. Die untersuchten Formen habe ich auf deren Lage hin geprüft: erstens in der Richtung vom Wortanfang zum Stamm, und zweitens in der Gegenrichtung, vom Stamm zum Wortanfang. Auf diese Weise glaube ich eine etwaige Gesetzmäßigkeit in der Lokalisation der Präfixe (in Bezug auf Stamm und zueinander) feststellen zu können, obwohl bei weitem nicht alle denkbaren Kombinationen der Präfixe in den Texten belegt sind.

Die Ergebnisse, die bei der Sichtung in der Richtung vom Wortanfang zum Stamm gewonnen wurden, können in einer Tabelle wie folgt zusammengefaßt werden.

Tabelle 1

Lfnde Nr	Gruppen der Verbalpräfixe						Verbal - stamm	Suffixa- ler Teil
	6	5	4	3	2	1		
1	taš	te	-	-	-	-	nūw	a
2	teš	ta/	h	-	-	-	hūt	u
3	taš	te	-	-	-	-	nūw	a
4	taš	tu	-	ta	-	-	šul	a
5	-	te	š	-	-	-	put	-
6	-	tu	h	ta	-	-	šul	-
7	-	ti	t	-	-	-	taš	-
8	-	te	š	ka	-	-	šuh	ta
9	-	-	(e)š	ša?	-	-	lep	-
10	-	tu	h	ta	-	-	šul	-
11	-	tu	h	za	-	-	šul	-
12	-	-	-	ta	a	hā	wet	-
13	-	-	-	za	š	si	ja	-
14	-	-	-	-	a	h	kun	wa
15	-	-	-	ta	a	hā	wet	-
16	-	-	-	-	a	n	taš	a
17	-	-	-	za	š	si	ja	-

Einige von den Bilinguen bezeugten Verbalpräfixe (k=, ŋe=, pi=, wa=) wird der Leser hier vermissen. Das geschieht weil kein einziges der in Tab.1 behandelten Präfixe vor k=, se=, pi=, wa= erscheint. Aus diesem Grunde habe ich die vermißten Präfixe in der Richtung vom Wortanfang zum Stamm nicht sichten können, daher gehören sie auch nicht in die Tab.1.

Eben um diese Lücke zu schließen, fühlte ich mich genötigt die festgestellte Regelmäßigkeit in der Lokalisation der Präfixe auch in gegengesetzter Richtung zu prüfen.

Die Verschiebung des Ausgangspunktes hat sich vollkommen bewährt: ich fand die Ordnung der Tab.1 abermals bestätigt. Dabei konnten annähernd auch die Präfixe k=, ŋe=, pi=, wa= lokalisiert werden.

Die rückwärtige Musterung in der Richtung vom Verbalstamm zum Wortanfang fiel wie folgt aus:

Tabelle 2

Linde Nr	Gruppen der Verbalpräfixe						Verbal- stamm	Suffixaler Teil
	6	5	4	3	2	1		
1	-	-	-	-	wa	h	kun	-
2	-	-	-	-	pi	n	nuw	at
3	-	-	-	-	se	h	kuw	at
4	-	-	(ə)k	ka	-	-	tuh	

Die hier ermittelte Lokalisation ist so zu verstehen, daß das gegebene Präfix jeweils nicht näher

zum (wohl aber weiter_vom) Verbalstamm auftauchen kann.

Aus den Tab.1 und 2 geht folgendes hervor: die Zahl der Präfixsitze gleicht sechs (freilich wenn wir taš=, teš= als Präfixe und nicht als Partikel zählen); ferner will mir es möglich scheinen, jedem behandelten Präfix einen festen Platz (in Bezug auf Stamm und zueinander) innerhalb des Zeitwortes einzuräumen.

Es ist allerdings zu beachten, daß wir keinen Fall kennen, wo sämtliche 6 Sitze belegt sind. Meistens enthält das Verbum zwei bis drei Präfixe, weswegen das Sprachbild zunächst wesentlich entstellt scheint. Vielleicht deshalb konnte die steife Lokalisation der Verbalpräfixe so leicht übersehen werden.

Die einsprachigen Texte hingegen zwingen mich die bereits aus den Bilinguen gewonnene Ordnung einigermaßen zu berichtigen. Die weitaus wichtigste Korrektur betrifft die Zahl der Präfixgruppen. Ich fühlte mich genötigt sie von sechs auf sieben zu bringen.

Verbalformen wie etwa te=ta=p=ta=h=hul, tē=tu=t=hur=up, tu=te=wa=ja, te=te=tuh u.dgl. lassen zwischen der Verneinung taš=, teš= einerseits und der fünften Gruppe andererseits noch eine weitere, vielleicht der fünften sehr ähnliche, Präfixgruppe ahnen. Betrachten wir diese neue Gruppe als sechste, so muß die Gruppe der Präfixe taš=, teš= als siebente angesehen werden. Es ist immerhin durchaus denkbar,

daß die Präfixe der 5. und 6. Gruppe sich gegenseitig irgendwie ergänzen und also ihren Platz untereinander wechseln können.

In Anbetracht der phonetischen Eigentümlichkeit einiger Präfixe dürfen wir deren Liste erheblich vereinfachen und die Präfixe tabellarisch folgendermaßen darstellen.

Tabelle 3

N.B.! Die Null besagt, daß jeweils der Vokal a, e, oder u hier eingeschaltet werden kann.

Die Präfixgruppen						
7	6	5	4	3	2	1
toſ	to	to	h/k(o)ſ, wa	ka, t/za	a, (a)ſ	h/kn, ſi

Schon deshalb darf diese Aufstellung nicht als lückenlos gelten, weil darin bei weitem nicht alle Verbalformen aus den einsprachigen Texten erfaßt worden sind. Ich bin mir dessen auch bewußt, ja ich möchte sogar hoffen, daß die erarbeitete Lokalisation künftig der Berichtigung bedürfen wird. Jedoch dürfte die Idee, die zugrunde der Lokalisation hattischer Verbalpräfixe gelegt worden ist, als verbindlich gelten.

Wir haben bei der Deutung bestimmter Präfixe (und ganzer Präfixgruppen) uns natürlich nur auf die lexikalisch klaren Formen und auf die gewonnene Klassifikation ihrer Präfixe zu stützen. Übrigens ist die Deutung der Präfixe keineswegs leichter als die Klassifikation derselben. Lediglich bloß die, zuerst von FORRER, festgestellte prohibitive Bedeutung von taš-, teš und die optative von te= werden durch eine hinlängliche Zahl hattisch-nesitischer Parallelen erhärtet und können daher als gesichert gelten. Die Versuche jedoch andere Präfixe zu deuten, müssen sachgemäß erst sorgfältig geprüft werden.

Bekanntlich deutete man die hattischen Präfixe indem man im Hattischen die Kennzeichen für die nesitischen Kategorien der Zeit, Zahl und Person suchte. Als solche gelten: h= (drückt nach LAROCHE das Präteritum aus), ta=/tu= (3. Pers. Sg., nach LAROCHE), še= (3. Pers. Sg., fem., nach KAMMENHUBER)²⁾ aš= und eš= (3. Pers. Pl., nach LAROCHE), uš= (1. Pers. Pl., nach LAROCHE), ut= (2. Pers. Sg. und Pl., nach LAROCHE). Ferner sei noch folgendes zu merken; die Imperativformen enthalten nach LAROCHE überhaupt keine Präfixe; die Elemente ta=/tu= drücken nach FORRER und KAMMENHUBER örliche Beziehungen aus; weiter käme eine demonstrative Bedeutung den Präfixen n= (LAROCHE) und wa=

(FORRER und LAROCHE) und eine lokative Bedeutung dem Präfix ka= (LAROCHE) zu.

Ebenfalls sei noch eine flüchtige Bemerkung von LAROCHE erwähnt. Er meint, man könne h= mit franz. 'le' (?) übersetzen (RA 41, p.95). Hier scheint sich der französische Gelehrte der von ihm sonst in Abrede gestellten Ansicht FORRERS anzuschließen. Bekanntlich möchte der deutsche Forscher h= als Objektpräfix gelten lassen.

Nehmen wir nun die Probe aufs Exempel und wollen wir nachsehen, ob die erwähnten Präfixe auch tatsächlich Zeit, Person und Zahl ausdrücken, oder ob nicht vielmehr das hattische Zeitwort auf grammatische Bedeutungen hinzuweisen vermag, die dem Nesitischen durchaus fremd sind.

Das Präfix h= erscheint wirklich in mehreren Verbalformen, die in den nesitischen Parallelen scheinbar mit dem Präteritum übersetzt worden sind. So entspricht z.B. das hatt. aš=ka=h=hir dem nes. manijahhir sinngemäß 'sie haben zugeteilt', dagegen wird das hatt. eš=kā=her=pi mit nes. taparijawenima 'wir bestimmen' übersetzt. Im ersten Fall ist das Präfix h= im Hattischen vorhanden, das Zeitwort der nesitischen Parallele steht demzufolge im Präteritum. Im zweiten Fall fehlt das Präfix h=, dementsprechend steht im Nesitischen dafür die Präsensform.

Dieser Beweis dürfte eigentlich als schlagend empfunden werden. Trotzdem wird diese Auslegung von anderer Seite her hart angefochten. Es geht um die folgende Parallelen: hatt. wa-h-zf=her = nes. mun/natten? 'vers/teckt?'; tē=ta=h=šul = anda tarneškiddu 'sie sollen hineinlassen'; teš=ta=h=hüt=u = lē niniktari 'er soll sich nicht bewegen'; tā=hā=wet = šammallijazi (Bedeutung ungeklärt). In allen drei Fällen steht im Hattischen das Prefix h=. Im Nesitischen dagegen erkennen wir im 1. u. 2. Fall das Imperativum, aber im 3. Fall - das Prohibitivum, durch lē + Präsens (3. Pers. Sg. Medium) ausgedrückt. Das nesitische Zeitwort šammallijazi (dessen Sinn freilich nicht ermittelt ist) steht offensichtlich gleichfalls im Präsens (3. Pers. Sg.).

Man könnte einwenden, daß die Befehlsform (bzw. Verbotung) auch im Hattischen (wie u.a. in den semitischen Sprachen), mit Hilfe der Vergangenheitsform umschrieben wird. Demnach brauchen die besagten Fälle der Auffassung von h= als Merkmal des Präteritums ja garnicht zu widersprechen. Immerhin bleibt die Parallele hatt. tā=hā=wet = nesit. šammallijazi (Präsens!) ungeklärt. Dies gilt auch für die Parallelen: ā=n-tuh = dāšmaza 'er nahm sich'; pala ā=n-tah=a = natkan

anda dāiṣ 'und er legte sie darauf'; wa-nūp=pa = paittaṣ 'sie ging'; pi-n-nuw=at = paittaṣ 'sie ging'; ā=n=teh = wetet 'er baute'. In den letzterwähnten nesitischen Parallelen steht eindeutig das Präteritum dort, wo die entsprechenden hattischen Verbalformen das Präfix h nicht enthalten.

Infolge dessen scheint mir der angebliche präteritale Sinn des hattischen Präfixes h recht zweifelhaft. Es kann sehr wohl sein, daß die von FORRER geäußerte Vermutung, wonach das h=Präfix das Akkusativ-Objekt bezeichnet, sich künftig noch als fruchtbar erweisen wird. Enthalten doch die meisten hattischen Verbalformen mit h auch Objektergänzungen! Die einzige Ausnahme ist vorläufig die hattische Verbalform teṣ=ta=h=hut=u, der die nesitische Übersetzung lē ni-niktari 'er soll sich nicht bewegen' entspricht; doch liegt hier der Grund der Inkonsequenz vielleicht an der Unzuverlässigkeit der nesitischen Übersetzung. Andererseits kommen häufig genug Verbalformen ohne h vor, denen keine Objektergänzung folgt. Dies würde FORRERS Vermutung wiederum bestätigen, jedoch sind hier mehrere Ausnahmefälle zu notieren, z.B. nīp=u=pē = ījaweni-maṣ 'aber wir machen sie', jā=e = naṣṣi piweni 'und wir geben sie ihm', aṣahpi taṣ=tu=ta=ṣūl=a = īdalumakān anda lē tarnāi 'er soll das Böse nicht hineinlassen'.

Den Zeitwörtern ohne h= doch mit Objektergänzung entsprechen stets nesitische Präsensformen. Wir dürfen also behaupten, daß das h=Präfix ausgerechnet in der Vergangenheit als Objektmerkmal diene. Doch widersprechen dieser Vermutung solche Beispiele wie die obenerwähnten wa=h=zi=her, tē=ta=h=sül u. dgl.

Ob das Präfix ta= tatsächlich der 3. Pers. Sg. masc. entspricht, scheint mir fragwürdig. Anlaß zum Denken bieten hierzu viele Fälle, wo im Nesitischen die 3. Pers. Sg. steht, in der hattischen Verbalform aber das Präfix ta= fehlt, z.B. ā=n=tuh = dāšmaza 'er nahm sich', a=n=neš = dāiš 'er legte', ā=h=kun=wā = aušt/āmankan/ 'er sah ihn', ā=h=kun(n)=u=wa = auštan 'er sah das', ā=n=teh = wetet 'er baute' u.dgl. Vielleicht hat auch hier FORRER recht, wenn er das Präfix ta= als eine Ortsbezeichnung deutet.³⁾

Den hattischen Zeitwörtern mit dem Präfix ta= entsprechen oft nesitische Zeitwörter mit der Vorsilbe anda, z.B. tē=ta=h=sül = anda tarneškiddu 'er soll hineinlassen', taš=tu=ta=sül=a = anda lē tarnāi 'er soll nicht hineinlassen', ta=niw=aš = anda ēšzi 'er befindet sich (drin)', pēwil išnaru taš=tē=ta=nūw=a = idalušwakan UKU=aš ē=ri anda lē wizzi 'der böse Mensch soll in das Haus nicht hineinkommen'. Aufschluß-

reich sind hier die Parallelen: ašah taš=te=nūw=a = nuwakan idaluš x=x lē wizzi 'das böse x=x soll nicht hineinkommen' und pēwil išnaru taš=tē=ta=nūw=a = ida-lušwakan UKU=aš ē-ri anda lē wizzi 'der böse Mensch soll in das Haus nicht hineinkommen'. Die Deutung von hatt. ta= im Sinne 'in, darin' geht aus den letzten Beispielen besonders klar hervor. Es gibt auch weitere Belege, die für die Deutung von ta=/tu= als Ortsbezeichnung zu zeugen scheinen: [...] teš=ta/u=hūt=u = pidi duwanna duwanna lē niniktari 'er soll sich am Orte hie und da nicht bewegen', tu=h=ta=šul wapizel = hēušašši EGIR=an tarnaš 'er ließ Regen(güsse) hinter ihm her'. Sehr wichtig ist es, daß es keine Verbalformen gibt, wo das Präfix ta= nicht ohne weiteres als Lokativ=Kennzeichen ausgelegt werden darf.

Für das Präfix še= glaubt man die Bedeutung von 3. Pers. fem. aus dem Vergleich der Verben ta=h=kuw=at und še=h=kuw=at ermittelt zu haben. Diese Deutung steht und fällt mit der Hypothese, wonach ta= als Kennzeichen der 3. Pers. masc. anzusehen wäre. Da nun anscheinend ta= kein Kennzeichen der Person ist, so entfällt hiermit auch die vorgeschlagene Deutung von še= (übrigens wäre vor allem das Vorhandensein von grammatischem Geschlecht im Hattischen zu erweisen).

Dagegen scheinen Beweise für die Deutung von še= als Bezeichnung der Richtung im Sinne 'wohin, worum'

vorzuliegen, so z.B.: še=tuk=aš = našši kattan tijat
'dann trat sie zu ihm herab' (Femininum nur in der
Übersetzung: das Subjekt ist 'die Göttin Hapantaliya').

Die Präfixe aš=, eš=, uš= neigt LAROCHE als Kenn-
zeichen der Person und Zahl (des Subjekts) gelten
zu lassen. Dagegen fühle ich mich genötigt folgendes
einzuwenden:

1) Das Präfix aš= entspricht der 3. Pers. Einzahl
in aš=ta=zi = uāi 'er weint (?)' und in aš=ta=h=
hil=ma = ishuwaš 'er schüttete', jedoch auch der 3.
Pers. Mehrzahl in aš=ka=h=hir = manijahhir 'sie ha-
ben zugeteilt';

2) Das Präfix eš=/iš= entspricht der 3. Pers.
Einzahl in iš=kā=šuh = pahšaru 'er soll schützen' und
in te=eš=ka=šuh=ta = pa/hšāru 'er möge schützen',
jedoch auch der 1. Pers. Mehrzahl in es=kā=her=pi =
taparijawenima 'wir (werden) bestimmen' und ferner
der 3. Pers. Mehrzahl in te=eš=put = ašandu 'sie sollen
sein', gleichfalls in te=eš=pū = adandu 'sie sollen
essen' und in eš=ša=a-lēp = /ki/ššan memir 'sie
sprachen so';

3) Das Präfix uš= entspricht der 1. Pers.
Mehrzahl in uš=ša = nan SIG₅=ahhwen 'wir haben
günstiges Omen gegeben', ebenfalls in uš=haš = /.../en
'wir' + 'Präteritum' und uš=še=ša=lil = /.../eni
'wir' + 'Präsens'.

Die Inkonsequenz im Gebrauch von aš=, eš=, iš=, uš= als Bezeichnungen von Person und Zahl des Subjekts möge nun schematisch wie folgt dargestellt werden: (Tabelle 4).

Tabelle 4

Präfix	Singular		Plural	
	1. Pers.	3. Pers.	1. Pers.	3. Pers.
<u>aš=</u>	-	2 Belege	-	1 Beleg
<u>eš=</u> <u>iš=</u>	-	2 Belege	1 Beleg	3 Belege
<u>uš=</u>	-	-	3 Belege	-

N.B.! Insgesamt sind vorläufig nur 12 gedeutete Belege vorhanden.

Es liegt also kein Grund vor, die Präfixe aš=, eš=, iš=, uš=, sowie ta=, še= als Bezeichnungen von Person und Zahl (beim Subjekt) gelten zu lassen. Freilich konnten auch keine andere Präfixe der Person und Zahl festgestellt werden. Für ta= und še= kann man wenigstens Beweise bringen, die es uns gestatten diese Präfixe als Ortsbezeichnung auszulegen. Für die Deutung von aš=, eš=, iš=, uš= haben wir m.W. überhaupt keine Anhaltspunkte. Vielleicht deuten diese Präfixe, bei den transitiven Verben allerdings, auf die Zahl des Objekts hin: also aš= auf Pl., eš=/iš= und uš= auf Sg. Zu dieser Hypothese drängen mich bestimmte Textunterlagen.⁴⁾

Somit haben wir bisweilen keine Präfixe der Zahl des Subjekts, der Person und der Zeit feststellen können. Die Annahme von LAROCHE, daß die präfixlosen Verbalformen als Imperativa zu verstehen sind, stimmt auch nicht in allen Fällen, und zwar nicht einmal für die 2. Pers., wo kaum irgendwelche Umschreibungsformen zu erwarten wären. Hier sind vor allem folgende Beispiele zu erwähnen: nīp=u=pē (Stamm: nīp) = ijawenimaš 'wir machen sie', jā=e (Stamm: jā) = našši piweni 'und wir geben sie ihm'. Dabei ist nicht zu übersehen, daß gewisse hattische Verbalformen mit Präfixen im Nesitischen durch Imperativformen wiedergegeben sind: wa=h=
zī=her = mun/natten/ 'vers/teckt', iš=kā=šuh = pahšaru 'er soll schützen' pi=n=nā (nā < nuw=a; Stamm: nuw) = nammat pāndu 'und ferner sollen sie (ver)gehen'; die Verbalformen mit dem Präfix te= sind auch im Auge zu halten, wie etwa tē=ta=h=šūl = anda tarneškiddu 'er soll hineinlassen', te=š=put = ašandu 'sie sollen sein' u.dgl.

Zusammenfassend können wir unter den Präfixen des hattischen Verbums vorläufig nur solche unterscheiden, die den Modus (te=, tu=⁵), das direkte Objekt (h=), möglicherweise die Zahl des Objekts (aš=, eš=, iš=, uš=) und die Ortsbeziehungen (ka=, še=, ta=) bezeichnen; zu berücksichtigen ist eben-

falls die Verneinung (taš=, teš=, tiš=, tuš=).

Über die Bedeutung ganzer Präfixgruppen läßt sich leider nicht vieles aussagen:

Die 6. und 5. Gruppe enthalten Präfixe, die auf den Modus hinweisen. Die Verneinung bildet die 7. Gruppe, falls sie nicht als Partikel behandelt wird. Warum die Präfixe des Modus bald den 5. und bald den 6. Sitz belegen, mit welchen Präfixen sie ihren Ort wechseln und warum, - das ist vorläufig unklar. Allein die Frage ist keineswegs belanglos, denn eben davon hängt das Verständnis von tu=, falls es zur 6. oder 5. Gruppe gehört und doch optativisch nicht ausgelegt werden kann. Das Präfix h= taucht sowohl in der 4. als auch in der 1. Gruppe auf. Von diesem Präfix nehmen wir an, daß es mit dem Objekt einer bestimmten Klasse zu tun hat, somit dürften also die übrigen Präfixe, die gleichfalls in der 4. und 1. Gruppe aufzutauchen pflegen, besonders aber š= (aš=, eš=, iš=, uš=) und n= ebenfalls mit dem Objekt, vielleicht einer anderen Klasse, in Beziehung stehen. Es mag sein, daß die letzterwähnten Präfixe in bestimmten Fällen, sagen wir, in intransitiven Verben, das Subjekt bezeichnen. Man vergleiche hiezu das z. Z. einzige Beispiel: šawatma ka=ur-an-ti-u = ^{GIS} HAŠHUR TUL=i šer artari 'der Apfelbaum steht über dem Brunnen'. Es scheint möglich, daß die Präfixe der 4. Gruppe lediglich diejenigen der 1. Gruppe und vor allem das h= irgendwie präzisieren.

Zur 3. Gruppe gehören die Ortsbezeichnungen ta= (gelegentlich auch za=) und ka=. Das Präfix še= (vielleicht auch ša= und ši=) ist mit ta= sinnverwandt. Anscheinend gehört folglich auch še= zur 3. Gruppe (še= ist nicht näher als auf dem 2. Sitz /vom Verbalstamm gezählt/ und ša= nicht weiter vom 3. Sitz gesichtet worden!). Zwar sind anscheinend die Präfixe der 2. mit denen der 4. Gruppe phonetisch nahe; davon läßt sich aber kaum der Sinn der fraglichen Präfixe ableiten.

Die Präfixe der 2. Gruppe scheinen gewissermaßen darauf hinzuweisen, zu wessen Gunsten die Handlung vollbracht wird. So steht das Präfix a= gelegentlich in hattischen Zeitwörtern, denen nesitische Verbalformen mit der Silbe za entsprechen. Man vergleiche hierzu: a=n=tuh = dāšmaza 'er nahm sich' (zweimal belegt). So gar dort, wo za im Nesitischen nicht vorkommt, ist die Übersetzung 'sich' durchaus möglich: a=n=tah=an 'er machte sich (ein Tor)', a=n=neš 'er legte zu sich (auf den Thron)', a=n=tah=a 'er legte für sich (hinter Riegel)'. Das Präfix a= der 2. Gruppe dürfte demnach grammatisch das 'Reflexivum' (?) bedeuten.

Die Ergebnisse des Versuches die hattischen Verbalpräfixe nach Gruppen zu deuten könnte tabellarisch wie folgt erfaßt werden:

Tabelle 5

Die Präfix-Gruppen						
7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Vernein- ung	M o d u s		Objekt- kennzei- chen	Ortkenn- zeichen	?	Objekt- kenn- zeichen
taš=, teš=	te=, (tu=)	te=, (tu=)	h=, š=, pi=?wa?	ta=, za=, ka=, ša=? še=? ši=?	a=, ja=, wa=	h=, n=

Leider verfügt noch unsere Wissenschaft über keine Textquellen, die es ermöglichen, die Deutung jedes belegten Präfixes aus dem ermittelten Sinn seiner Gruppe differenziert herauszuarbeiten.⁶⁾

Die endgültige Klärung der Präfixe im Hattischen bleibt künftigen Studien vorbehalten.

1) Man hat bekanntlich vorgeschlagen, die hethitische Keilschriftsprache als Nesitisch zu bezeichnen, was sich jedoch nicht durchsetzen konnte. Nachstehend wird diese Bezeichnung freibleibend aus technischen Gründen vorgezogen, und zwar um bedenkliche Ausdrücke wie etwa 'hattisch-hethitische Texte' zu vermeiden. (Quellennachweis s. Anm. 6).

2) Übrigens meint KAMMENHUBER, daß die Präfixe ta= (masc.) und še= (fem.) sowohl das Subjekt, als auch das Objekt bezeichnen können.

- 3) Betreffs tu=h=ta=šul meint KAMMENHUBER freibleibend, tu= könne hier entweder als 3. Pers. Sg. masc. oder als Präverb, dem das nesitische EGIR=an(da) 'hinterher' entspricht, aufgefaßt werden.
- 4) Es kommen hier vor allem die folgenden Parallelen der Bilinguen in Betracht: wašhapma ešwur aš=ka=
=h=hir = DINGIR^{meš} KUR^{meš} manijaħhir 'Die Götter haben die Länder zugeteilt', as=ta=h=hil=ma šemunā-
muna = nuwarušzakan išhuwaš šamānuš 'und er schüt-
tete sie, die Grundsteine', anna eš=kā=her=pi =
manat taparijawanima 'und als wir das bestimmt ha-
ben', kānaju watahazī waħtū palā ašaħtu lēzziwatu
lēpinu palū lēpazizintu intā te=eš=pū = HUL=lušša
UKU=aš Ú ŠA DAM^{meš} ŠU DUMU^{mes} ŠU EREM^{meš} uzu GEŠPU
MUŠEN^{hi.a} KA₅ A^{hi.a} QA.TAM.MA adandu 'mögen die
Vögel und die Füchse die Kraft des bösen Menschen
und auch seiner Frauen, seiner Söhne und seiner
Truppen verzehren' schließlich der Beleg wazzariun-
pi te=eš=ka=šuh=ta = NAM.LÚ.ULU^{lu} =ma /pa/hšāru
'(er) möge die Menschheit schützen' und das bereits
zitierete ūš=ša = nan SIG₅ =aħhwen 'und wir haben
günstiges Omen gegeben'.
- 5) In solchen Belegen wie taš=tu=ta=šul=a = anda lē
tarnāi 'er soll (das Böse) nicht hineinlassen' ist
tu= zweifellos als Optativ=Kennzeichen zu deuten,
aber in folgenden Belegen bleibt das Präfixe tu=

unklar: tu=wah=ši = wātarnahhi 'ich empfehle (sie ihm)', tu=h=ta=šul = EGIR=an tarnaš 'er ließ (sie) hinter (ihm) her'.

6) Mir waren lediglich die folgenden Veröffentlichungen zugänglich: VBoT; in der Reihe KUB - I,II, XVII,XXIV ff.; neuerdings auch H.G.GÜTERBOCK KUB XXVIII. Sechs Bilinguen sind darunter für meine Untersuchungen vom besonderen Wert: KUB II 2; XXIV 14 + XXVIII 79,Vs IV; XXVIII 1,Rs 4; XXVIII 3,4,5 + VBoT 73; XXVIII 6, und schließlich die von FRIEDRICH teils veröffentlichte Bilingue in JKF 2,2 (1952).

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M. A. ITINA

THE STEPPE TRIBES OF THE CENTRAL
ASIAN DOAB IN THE LATER PART
OF THE SECOND—THE BEGINNING
OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B. C.

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As is well known, archaeology is the major source in studying the most ancient periods of the history of mankind when the primitive communal system predominated. It is not without reason, therefore, that problems of prehistoric archaeology receive great attention in Soviet science.

The progress of research in this direction conducted on the territory of Central Asia is of particular interest, as this region had been since ancient times the zone of contact between the greatest eastern civilizations and the primitive tribes of hunters and fishermen, and later cattle breeders and agriculturists of the northern steppe and forest-steppe regions. Moreover, even then Central Asia played the part of link between the cultures of the Middle East and those of such remote regions as, for example, West and South Siberia.

All those contacts were inevitably related to most complex ethnogenic processes in the disclosure of which archaeologists should be instrumental. It was only in Soviet time, however, that these major tasks of prehistoric archaeology of Central Asia were properly grasped. Research in this field assumed a particularly wide scope in the post-war period.

Thus, fruitful research was started, aimed at studying the most ancient relics of agricultural techniques in South-West Turkmenistan, and work has begun to explore the old agricultural settlements of Ferghana; most interesting discoveries were made dealing with the history of culture of the steppe tribes in Ferghana, South Uzbekistan and Khorezm. Lastly, important research in the field of prehistoric archaeology was carried out in Kazakhstan, the region most closely connected culturally and historically with Central Asia.

As a result, a tremendous amount of facts have been accumulated, which are not merely a recording of some or

other feature of the culture of the tribes which have been studied, but the facts which call for a broad interpretation against a large historical background.

In this respect the Bronze Age provides a particularly rich material, since the development of nomadic cattle breeding, and of the metallurgy of copper and bronze, with the uneven distribution of the sources of raw materials on the territory of Central Asia, made for developed exchange and extensive cultural relations between individual tribes, and, finally, for the migration of certain tribal groups at considerable distances.

The differing geographic conditions had, already since most ancient times, predetermined the various trends of economy of the ancient population in Central Asia. Agricultural techniques closely connected with the ancient agricultural civilizations of the Near East developed in the south, in the foothills area. North of that region, in the steppe area there prevailed in the Neolithic Age the culture of hunters and fishermen, and later, in the Bronze Age the culture of tribes which combined in their economy nomadic cattle breeding with rudiments of agriculture.

It was the history of those steppe tribes, especially eventful in the later part of the second- the beginning of the first millenia B.C., that attracted our interest.

Research in this field, which has for many years been conducted under the guidance of Professor S. P. Tolstov, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, yielded a multitude of new facts which, together with the data obtained from neighbouring territories, threw some light on the history of the most ancient inhabitants of Central Asian steppes.

A study by the Khorezm expedition of the history of the ancient Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya river beds and the history of their population has made it possible to establish that a complex ethno-cultural processes took place there at the Bronze Age.

The steppe bronze culture, termed Tazabagyab by S.P. Tolstov¹, and discovered in the South Aral area, on the territory of the ancient Akcha-Darya delta of the Amu-Darya, dates from the middle and the later part of the second millenium B.C. Its representatives were engaged in cattle breeding and soil tilling, lived in semi-subterranean dwellings and used hand-made pottery with peculiar

geometrical patterns; they made their tools and ornaments of copper and bronze, but stone implements continued to be of no small account.

The Tazabagyab sites and their finds, like the finds of the Tazabagyab burial ground Kokcha III, indicate that two components can be traced very distinctly in the Tazabagyab culture; the timber-grave and the Andronovo culture components, the latter in its West Kazakhstan variant (the Alexeyevka settlement and burial ground²). This is possible to establish by the shape and ornamentation of the vessels, by the bronze ornaments, the planning of the dwellings, and cranial material. All this testifies to processes common to these regions, which were more profound than mere cultural ties.

The penetration of the tribes, representing the timber-grave culture, to the north, the Central Volga area, which had already begun by the middle of the second millennium B.C., and the counter movement of Andronovo tribes, which brought about the appearance of the elements of either culture in both of them—all this apparently resulted in turning the Central Trans-Volga area, and the South Urals area into the zone of contact of these tribes. It may be assumed as a working hypothesis that the roots of the Tazabagyab culture should be sought precisely in this zone of contact. The question arises whether the penetration of the tribes, representing the Tazabagyab culture, into South Khorezm came from the north through the East Aral area, and further to the south along the old Akchadarya delta.

I. V. Sinitsyn wrote repeatedly³ on the great similarity between the Bronze Age pottery coming from the Central Volga area steppes and West Kazakhstan on the one hand and the Khorezm material on the other, neither is accidental the similarity between the pottery of the Tazabagyab culture and the material from Alexeyevka, which in its turn, comprises many timber-grave culture features.

Interesting facts have been also supplied by anthropological findings.

Research conducted by T. A. Trofimova has established that two types are represented in the burial ground Kokcha III⁴, one of which is close to the anthropological types of the Andronovo and timber-grave cultures; it is noteworthy that, according to Trofimova, the crania from Kokcha III are especially close to the series of crania from

the timber graves of the Central Trans-Volga area, examined by G. F. Debets⁵.

It may be added to the above said that archaeological material from the Central Trans-Volga area sometimes provides the closest analogies to the Tazabagyab finds⁶, while in the Lower Volga timber-grave culture—complexes dissimilar to the Khorezm ones⁷.

Apart from this, a mixed timber-grave Andronovo type is also supplied by the crania material from the South Urals area⁸ and, hence, there is every reason to assume that in the middle of the second millennium B.C. newcomers from the north-west made their appearance in the steppes of the South Aral area.

The wide occurrence of Andronov culture in the Kazakhstan steppes dates from the same time, i.e. the later part of the second millennium B. C.; some scholars also include in its boundaries the steppes of the South Aral area⁹.

Without touching upon the question of the origin of the Andronovo culture, it is worth noting that at the present level of our knowledge there is already no ground for regarding this culture as a single vast cultural stratum, and the differences in the culture of individual regions of its occurrence as purely local differences which do not change the pattern as a whole. It is most probable that this is a case of many steppe bronze cultures whose seeming uniformity is related with the common economic and geographic conditions which created similarity in the material culture. As a matter of fact, it is quite evident that the relics of Andronovo culture in North Kazakhstan differ from those in Central and East Kazakhstan, the latter two regions likewise differing in culture.

Here is another case in point.

In 1959 the Khorezm expedition discovered in Kazakhstan on the bank of Ynkar-Darya (one of the ancient Syr-Darya channels) a group of barrows of the Bronze Age, which supplied not a purely Andronovo, but quite a mixed material with the obvious presence of some southern components along with Andronovo components, but in their North Kazakhstan variant.

Let us recall that there was a time when all the cultures of "painted ware" were considered a single culture. Accumulation of knowledge has led to the isolation of a number of cultures from this vast stratum. It is now clear

to everyone that it was correct to isolate for the territory of Ferghana the culture of ancient farmers of the Chust type, in contra-distinction to the Anau or Namazga type of cultures of South-West Turkmenistan. It would be proper for experts on the steppe bronze of Kazakhstan to revise their standpoint regarding Andronovo culture.

Leaving aside terminological differences, it might be said that the steppe expanses of Kazakhstan were densely populated by tribes which represented the steppe bronze cultures.

We have long known about the finds of crude hand-made pottery with hatched geometrical ornament in the south, south-west and south-east regions of Central Asia. While formerly, when finds of such a kind were isolated events, it could be a case only of cultural ties between the population of the steppe belt of Central Asia and the inhabitants of its southern foothills districts, today the question may be raised of some southward migration of steppe tribes in the later part of the second millennium B.C.

Until recently the above finds were regarded as an absolute proof of the wide occurrence of Andronovo culture throughout the vast territory of Central Asian steppes, but following the discovery and investigation of Tazabagyab culture by the Khorezm expedition, it became clear that in most cases the finds belong to the latter.

Apart from the territory of the Akcha-Darya delta, Tazabagyab pottery was found in the area of the Sarykamysh delta of the Amu-Darya and on the Uzboy¹⁰. Eroded sites with similar pottery have also been known to exist in the vicinity of the city of Ashkhabad.

The pottery from the burial ground Zaman-Baba 2 on the dry bed of the Zeravshan-Makhan-Darya, and from the settlements in the area of the dry bed of the Gurdush¹¹ may be undisputably attributed to the Tazabagyab culture. Finds are also known of pottery of the Tazabagyab type in the environs of Tashkent¹². Moreover, pottery of this type was also discovered in the ceramic material of many southern agricultural settlements: in the layer Namazga VI on the Namazga-tepe¹³, on the Tekkem-tepe¹⁴, and in the settlements Takhirbay III and Auchin-tepe in the Murgab delta¹⁵.

According to these finds, the migration of the steppe tribes went along waterways. Possibly, the finds in the

Murgab delta, too, are connected with its developing not only by southern agricultural tribes, representing the culture of the Namazga VI type, but also by the cattle breeding and agricultural tribes, representing the Tazabagyab culture, who came there at the end of the second millennium B.C.

Archaeological exploration carried out by the Khorezm expedition in recent years have also revealed southward migration of the steppe tribes at a somewhat later period, at the turn of the second and the first millennia B.C.

As far back as the beginning of the second millennium a reverse process was recorded for the lower reaches of the Amu-Darya — the advent of Suyargan tribes from the southern agricultural regions of Central Asia, whose culture was most closely bound with the ancient Near East¹⁶. It is with this population that the Tazabagyab tribes who appeared in the South Aral area in the middle of the second millennium B.C. came in contact. Archaeological data testify to the coexistence of these tribes on that territory and to the existence of close contacts between them.

This is also borne out by anthropological material. T. A. Trofimova discovered among the crania of the Tazabagyab burial ground Kokcha III yet another anthropological type belonging to the Indo-Dravidoid forms of the equatorial race, the appearance of the type probably being connected with Suyargan tribes coming to Khorezm from the south.

By the end of the second millennium B.C. Suyargan culture (already at its later, Kaundy stage) had, however, become predominant there. At present many finds in the southern districts of Central Asia testify to another southward movement of steppe tribes, which A. A. Marushchenko, following R. Pampelli and G. Schmidt, dates to the "period of barbarian occupation", and relates the culture of these tribes to late Suyargan culture¹⁷. Among relics with finds of this kind are Yashelly-tepe near the station of Gyaurs¹⁸, El-ken-tepe at the station of Kaushut¹⁹, Yassy-tepe near Dushak²⁰, and the settlement of Koine-kala (Bakharden district)²¹. Pottery of the late Suyargan type have also been found in the small collection from Auchin-tepe²². In the settlement of Yaz-tepe excavated by V. M. Masson in the Murgab delta, a layer was singled out (800-650 years B.C.) which yielded pottery similar to that from the layer of "barbarian occupation" of the Southern Hound in

Anau²³. The pottery from the Yaz I layer is noted for its rough making and, though covered in some places with painting, the utensils resemble samples of steppe bronze culture by some shapes, designs of painting and the principles of its arrangement. Similar forms are also encountered on the North Atrek monuments of the Madau type²⁴.

All these are agricultural settlements whose material also reveals features typical of the steppe bronze culture, alongside with a greatly pronounced southern agricultural tradition.

The finds of recent years in the Ferghana Valley indicate, however, that along with typical agricultural settlements of the Chust and Dalverzin type, there are also monuments of the steppe type.

We mean the Vuadil burial ground²⁵ and the sites in Kairak-Kum²⁶, one complex from Kairak-Kum being similar to the Vuadil one, and both supplying a very characteristic material with obvious Suyargan features. The complexes date from the X-VIII centuries B. C. It is noteworthy that along with the Mediterranean type the crania from Vuadil (examined by V. V. Ginzburg) point to the presence of the Andronovo type but in a mixed variant.

Thus, we see that there were major tribal migrations of Central Asian steppe tribes in the middle of the second millennium B.C. The movement in the south, south-west and south-east directions assumed an even greater scope at the end of the second the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Archaeological data indicate that the migration of those northern cattle breeding tribes took place along the beds of such rivers as Uzboy, Atrek, Tedjen, Murgab, Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya.

It is quite evident then that the contact between the northern steppe and southern agricultural tribes played an enormous part in the ethnic history of the Central Asian peoples.

S. P. Tolstov voiced the opinion that contacts between the representatives of the "painted ware" culture and those of the hunting-fishing and then cattle breeding-agricultural cultures of the Eurasian North were one of the major prerequisites of Indo-European ethnogeny generally, and the formation of the Indo-Iranian group, of Indo-European in particular²⁷.

It was also his supposition that the appearance of the tribes, representing the Tazabagyab culture, in Khorezm,

in the middle of the second millennium B.C. might be related to "the first great wave of Indo-European, Indo-Iranian or Iranian tribes which penetrated into Khorezm from the north-east"²⁸. The hypothesis about the Indo-European origin the tribes of the steppe bronze culture and about their possible identification with the legendary Aryans who conquered India in the later part of the second millennium B.C. was expounded by many scholars²⁹.

As stated above, the appearance of Indo-Iranian tribes in the south of Central Asia was interpreted by some scholars, as being connected with the culture of the "period of barbarian occupation" (according to Pampelly and Schmidt).

Taking the above into account, S. P. Tolstov and the author of this paper deemed it possible to raise again the question regarding the ways of penetration of Indo-Iranian tribes into the territory of Afghanistan and India³⁰.

The end of the Mohenjo-daro, and Harappa civilizations, dated by most scholars to 1600-1500 B.C., was at the same time the beginning of a new period in the history of ancient India, called the "Dark Age". It is dated to the middle of the second millenium — the third century B.C. and is characterized archaeologically by the appearance of quite new cultures the creation of which is attributed to Aryans, the conquering tribes who destroyed the ancient civilizations of the Indus valley.

Very few monuments were, however, studied, which could supply actual material on the history of India of that time. A most distinct stratigraphic picture demonstrating, notably, the appearance of new cultures in the Indus valley, is provided by the two upper cultural layers of Chanh-Daro³¹.

These layers come from the people who already lived on the ruins of a Harappa period town.

The first of these, the Jhukar layer, perhaps demonstrates the advent of agricultural tribes from Baluchistan to the Indus valley, whose culture, however, manifested unmistakable features of similarity to the relics of the Bronze Age of Iran and South Turkmenistan (the period of Namazga VI)³².

The second of the layers, i.e. the upper layer of Chanh-Daro, namely the Jhangar layer, supplies material which testifies to the appearance of steppe tribes there.

Pottery of grey clay was found in this layer, mould-

ed on a slow wheel, polished, of simple shape and with an incised ornament forming a zone of shaded triangles, zig-zag lines, etc., typical of the steppe bronze culture³³. Similar pottery had been found before in the hamlet of Jhangar (Sind)³⁴ after which this culture was named, but it did not harmonize stratigraphically in such a distinct way. The difficulty of dating this culture is due to the fact, that nothing besides pottery was found there.

Piggott dates this culture not earlier than the last centuries of the first millennium B.C.³⁵, but it appears to us, by analogy with the Near Eastern and Central Asian data, that the beginning of the first millennium B.C. is a more correct guess.

As in Central Asia, where we succeeded in tracing two stages of southward migration of steppe tribes, it is assumed in the case of India that yet another group of invaders appeared from the north-west somewhere at the turn of the second and the first millennia B.C.³⁶.

It is very important to note that traditions of both, agricultural and steppe cultures of the Bronze Age, are traced in the culture of the post-Harappa period tribes, which is quite natural, assuming that they came there from the north-west, by the Gerirud and Gilmend valleys, from the zone of contact between the steppe cattle breeders and agriculturists.

It is quite possible that for India Jhangar culture reflects the subsequent fate of that culture of the "barbarian occupation" period whose traces have now been found in a great number of monuments along the northern boundaries of the Iranian plateau. Probably the features of this culture would manifest themselves in India to a lesser extent; nevertheless the subsequent fate of these steppe tribes might be traced, provided archaeological work is conducted in this direction in the border districts of Afghanistan and Iran, as well as in North India.

We are far from considering this most complex problem as being solved; yet we believe that the current active accumulation of archaeological material thanks to the vast scope of archaeological research on the territory of Central Asia is sufficient reason to regard this problem from many points of view; above all, it introduces some clarity into the understanding of the great role played by the Central Asian steppe tribes of the Bronze Age in the world-wide historical process.

- ¹ С. П. Толстов, Древний Хорезм, М., 1948, стр. 66—67; «По следам древнехорезмийской цивилизации», М. 1948, стр. 76—77; «Итоги двадцати лет работы Хорезмской археолого-этнографической экспедиции (1937—1956 гг.)», — «Советская этнография», 1957, № 4, стр. 36—42; М. А. Итина, Новые стоянки тазабагыябской культуры, — «Материалы Хорезмской экспедиции», т. I, М., 1959; «Первобытная керамика Хорезма», — «Труды Хорезмской экспедиции», т. IV, М., 1959 г.
- ² О. А. Кривцова-Гракова, Алексеевское поселение и могильник, — «Труды ГИМ», XVII, М., 1948.
- ³ И. В. Синицын, Поселения эпохи бронзы степных районов Заволжья, — «Советская археология», XI, М.—Л., 1949; «Археологические памятники по реке Малый Узень (Саратовская обл. и Западный Казахстан», — «Краткие сообщения Института истории материальной культуры», XXXII, 1950.
- ⁴ Т. А. Трофимова, Палеоантропологические материалы с территории древнего Хорезма, — «Советская этнография», 1957, № 3, стр. 14—15; «Основные проблемы палеоантропологии Хорезма», — «Материалы Хорезмской экспедиции», т. II, М., 1959, стр. 24—29.
- ⁵ Г. Ф. Дебеч, Палеоантропологические материалы из погребений срубной культуры Среднего Заволжья, — «Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР», т. 42, 1954, стр. 485—499.
- ⁶ Н. Я. Мерперт, Материалы по археологии Среднего Заволжья, там же, стр. 39—154.
- ⁷ И. В. Синицын, Археологические исследования Заволжского отряда, — «Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР», т. 60, 1959, стр. 39—205.
- ⁸ Т. А. Трофимова, Антропологический состав древнейшего населения Прикамья и Приуралья, — «Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР», т. 22, 1954, стр. 97—110.
- ⁹ For instance, A. N. Bernshtam considered as Andronovo all the tribes which inhabited the steppe region of Central Asia and Kazakhstan and left there monuments of the so-called steppe bronze culture typical of them. We do not share this opinion which is supported even now by M. P. Gryaznov, B. A. Latynin, and S. S. Chernikov.
- ¹⁰ For finds on the Uzboy see. С. П. Толстов, Работы Хорезмской археолого-этнографической экспедиции АН СССР в 1949—1953 гг., — Труды Хорезмской экспедиции, т. II, М., 1957, стр. 52; М. А. Итина, Памятники первобытной культуры Верхнего Узбоя, — Там же.
- ¹¹ Я. Г. Гулямов, Археологические работы к западу от Бухарского оазиса, — «Труды Института истории и археологии АН Узбекской ССР», вып. VIII, Ташкент, 1956, стр. 151, 156.
- ¹² Т. Г. Оболдуева, Погребения эпохи бронзы в Ташкентской обл., — «Краткие сообщения Института истории материальной культуры», т. 59, М., 1955, стр. 148, рис. 62.
- ¹³ В. М. Массон, Расписная керамика Южной Туркмении по раскопкам В. А. Куфтина, — «Труды Южно-Туркменистанской археологической экспедиции», т. VII, Ашхабад, 1956, стр. 312.
- ¹⁴ А. Ф. Ганялин, Теккем-тепе, — «Труды Института истории, археологии и этнографии АН Туркменской ССР», т. II,

Ашхабад, 1956, стр. 84—86.

¹⁵ А. М. Массон, Первобытно-общинный строй на территории Туркмении, — «Труды Южно-Туркменистанской археологической экспедиции АН Туркменской ССР», т. VII, стр. 251; «Поселения поздней бронзы и раннего железа в дельте Мургаба», — «Краткие сообщения Института истории материальной культуры», т. 69, 1957, стр. 59, рис. 19; «Древнеземледельческая культура Маргианы», — «Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР», т. 73, 1959, стр. 116—117, 179, табл. XI.

¹⁶ С. П. Толстов и М. А. Итина, Проблема суярганской культуры, — «Советская археология», 1960, № 1.

¹⁷ А. А. Марущенко, Елькен-тепе (отчет о раскопках 1953 г.), — «Труды Института истории, археологии и этнографии АН Туркменской ССР», т. II, Ашхабад, 1956, стр. 175—174, прим. 1. — Referring to the similarity of the Yashelly type of pottery with Suyargan ceramics, A. A. Marushchenko argues against S. P. Tolstov about the dates of Suyargan culture, believing that it should be dated to the end of the second — the beginning of the first millennium B. C. A. A. Marushchenko is quite right inasmuch as he uses the material of the Kaundy stage of Suyargan culture for comparison; as to the Kamyshly (early Suyargan) complex, its earlier dating is unquestionable.

¹⁸ А. А. Марущенко, Op. cit., стр. 173.

¹⁹ А. А. Марущенко Елькен-тепе (отчет о раскопках 1953—1955 и 1956 гг.), — «Труды Института истории, археологии и этнографии АН Туркменской ССР», т. V, Ашхабад, 1959, стр. 54—109.

²⁰ С. А. Ершов, Холм Яссин-тепе 2. (Раскопки 1952 г.), — «Известия АН Туркменской ССР», 1952, № 6.

²¹ See works by A. A. Marushchenko: Итоги полевых археологических работ 1953 г. Института истории, археологии и этнографии АН Туркменской ССР, — «Труды Института истории, археологии и этнографии АН Туркменской ССР», т. II, Ашхабад, 1956, стр. 6—7; Старый Серахс, стр. 173, сн. 3.

²² We take this occasion to express our thanks to V. M. Masson for the opportunity he kindly gave us of becoming familiar with this pottery.

²³ В. М. Массон, Поселения поздней бронзы и раннего железа в дельте Мургаба, — «Краткие сообщения Института истории материальной культуры», т. 64, 1956, стр. 64—65.

²⁴ В. М. Массон, Археологические работы на Мисрианской равнине, — «Краткие сообщения Института истории материальной культуры», вып. 69, 1957, стр. 69, рис. 23, правый крайний ряд; «Памятники культуры архайического Дахистана в юго-западной Туркмении», — «Труды Южно-Туркменистанской... т. VII, стр. 410, рис. 25, 5.

²⁵ Б. З. Гамбург и Н. Г. Горбунова, Могильник эпохи бронзы в Ферганской долине, — «Краткие сообщения Института истории материальной культуры», вып. 63, 1956, стр. 85—93; «Новые данные о культуре эпохи бронзы Ферганской долины», — «Советская археология», 1957, № 3, стр. 130—135.

²⁶ А. П. Окладников, Предварительный отчет об исследовании памятников каменного и бронзового веков в Таджикистане летом 1954 г., — «Труды Института истории, археологии и

этнографии АН Таджикской ССР», т. XXXVII, Сталинабад, 1956, стр. 17—12; В. А. Литвинский, Работы отряда по изучению памятников бронзового века в Кайрак-Кумах в 1955 г., — «Труды Института истории, археологии и этнографии АН Таджикской ССР», т. LXIII, стр. 27—36.

²⁷ С. П. Толстов, Древний Хорезм, стр. 68.

²⁸ С. П. Толстов, Итоги двадцати лет..., стр. 41.

²⁹ А. П. Бернштам, Сложение тюркоязычного населения Средней Азии и происхождение киргизского народа. Тезисы докладов и содокладов на сессии об этногенезе киргизского народа, Фрунзе, 1956, стр. 4; «Спорные вопросы истории кочевых народов Средней Азии в древности», — «Краткие сообщения Института этнографии», т. XXVI, 1957, стр. 19; И. М. Дьяконов, История Мидии, М.-Л., 1956, стр. 124, сн. 5; В. М. Массон, Изучение энеолита и бронзового века Средней Азии, — «Советская археология», 1957, № 4, стр. 54. — It should be noted that all the above authors refer to Andronovo tribes.

In his last work «The Ancient Agricultural Techniques of Marguan», V. M. Masson inclined to solve this problem in the negative (op cit. pp. 116—121).

³⁰ See С. П. Толстов и М. А. Итина, Проблема суярганской культуры.

³¹ E. Mackay, Chanhu-Daro Excavations, 1935—1936, New Haven, 1943, pp. 132—133.

³² В. В. Массон, Древнеземледельческая культура Маргианы, стр. 119.

³³ E. Mackay, Op. cit., стр. 132—133; табл. XXXIX.

³⁴ N. G. Majumdar, Explorations in Sind, — «Memoires of Archaeological survey of India», v. 48, 1934.

³⁵ S. Piggott, Prehistoric India to 1000 B. C., London, 1950, p. 227.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 240.